University of Alberta

BLANKET COATS OF THE BLACKFOOT FIRST NATIONS IN THE LATE NINTEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES: AN ANALYSIS OF MUSEUM AND ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

by

ANNE CHARLOTTE SMITH BAGAN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Clothing and Textiles

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

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BLANKET COATS OF THE BLACKFOOT FIRST NATIONS IN THE LATE NINETEETH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES: AN ANALYSIS OF MUSEUM AND ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

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Figure 1.1 Map of locations of Blackfoot First Nations Reserves, post 1877.

Figure 1.2 Map of boundaries of Blackfoot First Nations territories and fur trade posts, circa 1885.

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Figure 3.1 Cyclical model indicating process of relating ideas

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Figure 3.2 Schematic tipi model for balanced order and decision making processes

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of acceptance, a thesis entitled BLANKET COATS OF THE BLACKFOOT FIRST NATIONS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES: AN ANALYSIS OF MUSEUM AND ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS submitted by ANNE SMITH BAGAN in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS IN CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

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Dr. Jill E. Oakes

Date: October 3, 1997

ABSTRACT

Eighty-two photographs of Blackfoot First Nations (Kainah, Peigan and Siksika) people wearing blanket coats during the late 1800's and early 1900's were identified at the Provincial Archives of Alberta and the Glenbow Archives. Seventeen Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats were examined at the Provincial Museum of Alberta and the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. The study of archival and museum collections was combined with literature reviews of First Nations clothing, blanket coats, trade blankets, Blackfoot First Nations stories, and conversations with, and lectures by, First Nations members. Structural analysis indicated a preference for one stripe at the elbow and one above the coat hemline before 1900, and a preference for more than one stripe on the sleeves and on the body of the coats after 1900. Interdisciplinary analysis indicated that historic blanket coats seem to have been important garments in helping to sustain individual and social identities among Blackfoot First Nations people.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
1.	INTRODUCTION	
	General introduction	1
	Research goals, objectives, and questions	5
	Limitations of the research	7
2.	BEGINNINGS	
	Background to the research	14
	Proper beginnings	15
	Proper processes	18
3.	METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS	
	Images and identities created and stereotyped: Anthropology and photography	27
	Interdisciplinary research: circle concepts	33
	Object research and content analysis	36
4.	LITERATURE REVIEW	
	First Nations clothing literature	41
	Blanket coat literature	46
	Trade blanket literature	50
5.	A STUDY OF BLANKET COATS IN ARCHIVAL AND MUSEUM COLLECTIONS	
	Introduction	58
	The E. Brown collection	60
	The H. Pollard collection	62
	The Oblate collection	63
	The A. Lupson collection	63
	The T. J. Hileman collection	64
	The Provincial Museum of Alberta collection of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats	65
	The Glenbow Museum collection of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats	68
6.	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	
	The questions	90
	The cultural and historical contexts of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats	92
	Conclusions	98
	Recommendations for further research	105
7.	REFERENCES	112

8. APPENDICES

Appendix A	Tables A1 to A7	123
Appendix B	Accession numbers	130
Appendix C	Personal communications: Interviews	133

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 5

Page

Table 5.1 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on 143 blanket coats..... 83

Appendices

Table A1 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the E. Brown collection..... 123

Table A2 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the H. Pollard collection..... 124

Table A3 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the Oblate collection..... 125

Table A4 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the A. Lupson collection..... 126

Table A5 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in theT. J. Hileman collection..... 127

Table A6 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta..... 128

Table A7 Positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Glenbow Museum..... 129

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

Page

Figure 1.1 Map of locations of Blackfoot First Nations Reserves, post 1877..... 10

Figure 1.2 Map of boundaries of Blackfoot First Nations territories and fur trade posts, circa 1885..... 11

Figure 1.3 Data collection sheet..... 12

Figure 1.4 Attribute abbreviations..... 13

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1 Cyclical model indicating process of relating ideas..... 39

Figure 3.2 Schematic tipi model for balanced order and decision-making processes..... 40

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1 Unidentified Blackfoot First Nations men and missionary, Rocky Mountain House, 1871..... 55

Figure 4.2 Wolf Chief's blanket coat..... 56

Figure 4.3 Blanket coat pattern..... 57

Chapter 5

Figure 5.1 Locations of the attributes on blanket coats..... 71

Figure 5.2 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the E. Brown collection..... 72

Figure 5.3 Placement of stripes on individual coats in the E. Brown collection..... 73

Figure 5.4 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the H. Pollard collection..... 74

Figure 5.5 Placement of stripes on individual coats in the H. Pollard collection 75

Figure 5.6 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the Oblate collection 76

Figure 5.7 Placement of stripes on individual coats in the Oblate collection 77

Figure 5.8 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the A. Lupson collection 78

Figure 5.9 Placement of stripes on individual coats in the A. Lupson collection 79

Figure 5.10 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the T. J. Hileman collection 80

Figure 5.11 Placement of stripes on individual coats in the T. J. Hileman collection 81

Figure 5.12 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the Provincial Museum of Alberta collection 82

Figure 5.13 Placement of stripes on individual coats in the Provincial Museum of Alberta collection 83

Figure 5.14 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the Glenbow Museum collection 84

Figure 5.15 Placement of stripes on individual coats in the Glenbow Museum collection 85

Figure 5.16 Percentage occurrence of stripes on blanket coats in the total collections 86

Figure 5.17 Photograph of blanket coat PMA H66.147.1 88

Figure 5.18 Photograph of blanket coat GAI AF 3629 89

Chapter 6

Figure 6.1 Photograph of Blackfoot First Nation boys, Siksika Nation, circa 1887 107

Figure 6.2 Photograph of Okan ceremony, Kainah Nation, circa 1887 108

Figure 6.3 Photograph of Blackfoot First Nations men's society, circa 1913 109

Figure 6.4 Photograph of blanket coat, PMA H67.51.3 110

Figure 6.5 Photograph of blanket coat, PMA H89.220.171 111

1. INTRODUCTION

General introduction

Keeper
Keeper of the Vision
Spirit of the Four Directions
Your Heads

Thrusting

Screaming Out

Keeper! Keeper!
Scream for
All Creatures
on the Earth.

Your Warshirts
Marked with the White-Hot
Brands
of Words
of the
Lost Generation.

You bring forth
Your Animal Spirits
resting on their
barren stumps-

Grave markers.

Let the next
Generation
be born
with the knowledge
of what has passed.

(Joane Cardinal Schubert, 1992, p. 8.)

Artist Joanne Cardinal Schubert's poem echoes the demands for political restitution, for moral and economic equality, and for cultural reclamation heard across Canada by men and women of First Nations

communities. Other words are ringing in my ears. "You had better do it right" were spoken to me by Mr. Reg Crowshoe (Personal communication, September, 1993), a member of the Peigan Nation (see Appendix C). I had been explaining to him my ideas about studying men's clothing change among the Blackfoot First Nations people in southern Alberta. He impressed upon me that in any academic study, it is the young people who must benefit. These and other words have caused me to take a great deal of time reading, listening, looking, and thinking about the implications and definitions of academic research that considers past events, old and new ways of thinking, cultural recovery of important knowledge, values, and skills, and the appropriateness of the research to the ongoing lives of people.

The purpose of this research was to study blanket coats worn during the late 1800's and early 1900's by Blackfoot First Nations men and boys of the Peigan, Siksika, and Kainah Nations. These coats were examined within early photographs and the clothing that exists in publicly owned collections in Alberta. Blanket coats are also called blanket capotes, or capotes, in historical and research literature. There are many variations of capotes, not all of them made from blanket materials. However, capotes are usually hooded coats, which may or may not be fastened, and which reach to the knee or below. This study describes hand sewn and machine sewn coats made by Blackfoot First Nations seamstresses.

The archives visited were the Glenbow Archives and the Provincial Archives of Alberta. The photographic collections looked at were E. Brown, H. Pollard, the Oblate Fathers of the Order of Mary Immaculate, A. Lupson, and T. J. Hileman. The blanket coats in these photographic collections were systematically compared by an analysis of structural categories and their

frequencies in order to provide a basis for objective comparison. Research studies concerning objects and attribute analysis consulted were Grounds (1988), McKinnon (1992), Oakes (1991), Openda Omar (1993), Pannabecker (1986), Paoletti (1981), Prince (1992), Schimke Cyr (1978), Smith (1991), L. Taylor (1990), C.F. Taylor (1990), Wass (1975), and Zerwig (1995). Other sources consulted that investigated clothing and history were Lambert (1992), Oakes and Riewe (1995), Pannabecker (1990), Paoletti (1982), Paoletti, Beeker, and Pelletier (1987), Turnbaugh (1979), and Wass and Eicher (1980).

In this study, bar graphs and plotted graphs compared the frequencies of the blanket coat features viewed in the photographic collections. The same structural attribute categories were then applied to six blanket coats examined at the Glenbow Museum (Glenbow-Alberta Institute, GAI) and compared with thirteen blanket coats at the Provincial Museum of Alberta (PMA). The observations from the archival photographs were then compared to the blanket coats in the GAI and the PMA and to the literature on blanket coats and clothing.

Throughout this writing, the term Blackfoot First Nations refers to the Pikuni (Peigan), Siksika (Blackfoot), and Kainah (Blood) tribes. The reserves themselves are referred to as the Peigan Nation, the Siksika Nation, and the Kainah Nation Reserves (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The Montana Blackfeet Nation is also referred to as the South Peigan Nation.

This research project encompassed a variety of research approaches, seemingly distinct but all within the scope of the ways in which interdisciplinary projects must be discussed. Interdisciplinary research has been described by Klein (1990) as knowledge from related disciplines which contain ideas and knowledge that are connected by commonality and which, when this

knowledge is linked or overlapped, emphasize a holistic, relationship-oriented, understanding of the research.

Clothing, self-image, and history are viewed differently by people who make and wear the clothes, and by those who investigate and academically discuss the meanings between these subjects. Understanding the spectrum of interpretations and the consequences of the research project set within an interdisciplinary scope, has been the first challenge of this research.

In order to meet this challenge, I reviewed academic writing on clothing by historians and ethnographers and First Nations writers. In addition, valuable information was learned from those willing to talk to me about clothing and history; contemporary artwork, archival artwork, photographs, the blanket coats themselves, and other associated historic clothing and objects. Clifford Crane Bear, the Treaty Seven Community Liaison at the Glenbow Museum (see Appendix C), has said to me several times, "there are too many books" (Crane Bear, personal communication, December, 1996). Truthfully, there *are* too many books, and almost too many theoretical approaches and interpretations. I have tried to consult the most dependable sources, both written and verbal, and to interpret the information from the widest angle possible. Yet all lenses, and viewpoints, my own included, contain certain amounts of distortion. I hope, therefore, that this research does not present unfounded conclusions of clothing or people, past or present. The thoughts and observations in this research are understood from my interpretations and my understandings of what I have heard, seen, and read of the photographs, the clothing, First Nations and Blackfoot First Nations' philosophies, histories, legends, and academic research.

Research goals, objectives, and questions

Two goals helped to define the format of this study: the first goal has been to provide some insights to questions about the history and social functions of the various forms of blanket coats worn by Blackfoot First Nations males. It was hoped that insights gained about stylistic preferences of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats could help to place regional changes in clothing history within a broader understanding of cultural survival. The second goal has been to put the questions and objectives into a methodological framework that acknowledges that thinking processes have changed throughout time, and that there are many ways of interpreting concrete and abstract knowledge.

When considering historical research, the past and the present are very interdependent in terms of the ideas and the essential values that are sustained. While many social customs, values and meanings change through time, many do persist despite organized forces for social change, such as assimilation. Questions that infer complex relationships between the cultural, social and psychological functions of clothing, self-image, the individual, and history have shaped the objectives and goals of this research.

The objectives were:

To examine the structural and stylistic forms of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats that exist at the Provincial Museum of Alberta and at the Glenbow Museum.

To examine the structural and stylistic forms of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats within the context of archival photographs at the Provincial Archives of Alberta and at the Glenbow Archives.

To compare the structural and stylistic forms of the existing Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats to those seen within archival photographs.

To compare the visual sources of information on blanket coats with the written and verbal sources.

To integrate the comparisons of different sources of information in an analysis that considers the relationships between the sources and that acknowledges the holistic structure of the interdisciplinary research process.

To share the observations made from the research process with appropriate persons affiliated with the Pikuni, Siksika and Kainah communities for accuracy of interpretation and for ethical relevance.

In addition to the objectives, this research has been shaped by some key questions about Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats.

- Were there preferences by the coat makers and/or by the wearers for the construction of the hood, lapel, seam edging, and the placement of blanket stripes, points, and decoration?
- Can stylistic preferences in the structural features of the coats be measured in an attribute analysis?
- Were the historic blanket coats worn mainly by men and boys among the Blackfoot First Nations?
- Why were blanket coats significant clothing for males?
- Can stylistic preferences of the coats be better understood through current and historic Blackfoot First Nations cultural expressions; for example in stories, art work, poetry, drama, and songs?

Limitations of the research

Two major museums that housed Blackfoot First Nations blankets coats were visited: the Provincial Museum of Alberta and the Glenbow Museum. Identifying the cultural affiliation of blanket coats within collections emerged as a research limitation. Blanket coats were difficult to include when they remained culturally unidentified within an institution's database and identification system. Because the Provincial Museum of Alberta and the Glenbow Museum have specific cultural provenances supporting most of the blanket coats within their collections, and because the collections have particularly large numbers of blanket coats, the garments from these two institutions defined the material culture component of this study.

A search of the Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) indicated that the Provincial Museum of Alberta and the Glenbow Museum were the only institutions with collections of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats in Canada. However, there are other museums with Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats that do not have inventories appearing on CHIN. Blackfoot First Nation blanket coats were identified at other locations such as Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Centre, Rocky Mountain House National Historic Site, the Luxton (Buffalo Nations) Museum, and the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming. The blanket coats at these institutions were identified by referrals from people at the Glenbow Museum and at the Provincial Museum of Alberta, by reviewing the accessions information on the individual blanket coats at the GAI and at the PMA, and by writing to several museums in the United States which had published catalogues that included Blackfoot First Nations artifacts. The Denver Art Museum had no Blackfoot blanket coats in their collections. The Peabody Museum of Natural History

responded that they were not sure whether or not they had Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats because they were restructuring their database. No responses were received from the Museum of the Plains Indian in Browning, Montana or the Heyes Foundation, Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.

Other limitations existed mainly in identifying enough structural features of blanket coats in archival photographs in order to provide a useful base for comparing frequencies of structural trends among blanket coat styles. The Figures 5.2 through 5.16 describe the structural features most visible in the photographs: the placement and numbers of the stripes and points on the blanket coats. The survey presents only a broad indication of the occurrence of points and stripes on Blackfoot blanket coats in each photographic collection. It must be stressed that a limitation and a potential source of error in selecting these attributes for analysis was the fact that only parts of the coats could be recorded on the data collection sheet (see Figures 1.3 and 1.4). What is represented in this study is an analysis of the most frequent blanket coat attributes seen in the most frequent views (partial or full: front, back or side). Many of the attributes selected for analysis were not visible or not clear within the photograph. On the data collection sheet, attributes were listed as either present or not present. The information about individual photographs provided by the archival records was also a limitation to the research. Information about the date, location, the photographer, or the people within the photographs was incomplete for most catalogue records.

Only archival photographs identified as referring to Blackfoot First Nations people were used in the survey. These were identified first by various

archival information catalogues; secondly, by the photograph caption; thirdly, by accessioned information about the photograph, the negative, the photographer, or about the collection; and sometimes, fourthly, by identification by other people, mostly other authors. Once the photographs to be included in the survey were located and identified, only those containing visually recognizable blanket coats were selected for structural cataloguing. This sequence of steps required a subjective decision as to what photograph to include or exclude, depending on whether or not it could be identified as containing Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats. Certainly, many photographs of blanket coats were not included in the survey.

Another limitation was the small number of existing coats identified as Blackfoot First Nations. Most of the 17 blanket coats in the ethnographic collections have been collected within the last forty years. With the exception of the child's blanket coat and leggings (H 68.179.1 a, b, c, PMA), the dates of the construction of the blanket coats are not specific, and none may pre-date 1900. However, some of the blanket coat styles are similar to those seen in the selection of blanket coats viewed in the photographic collections between 1871 to the 1940's.

A limitation of this research is that the number of people consulted could have been far greater, especially had I been able to speak Blackfoot. There are many more important stories to be heard and much more knowledge to be shared by people who are interested in connecting the past with the present and with the future.

Figure 1.1

Locations of the Kainah, Peigan, and Siksika Nation Reserves, post 1877. Copyright permission, Philip Cercone, McGill-Queen's University Press (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. xvii).

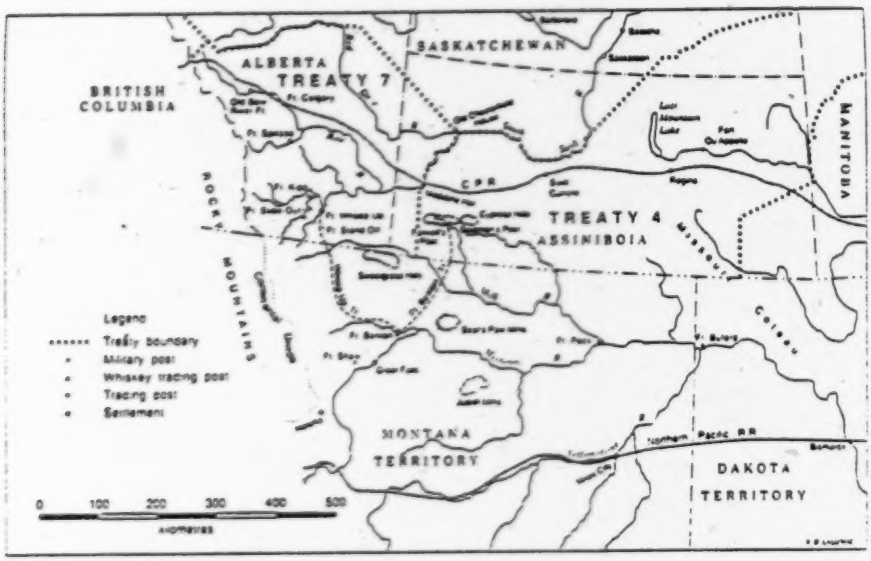

Figure 1.2

Fur trade posts and Treaty 7 boundaries demarcating Blackfoot First Nations territories, circa 1885. Copyright permission, Philip Cercone, McGill-Queen's University Press (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. xix).

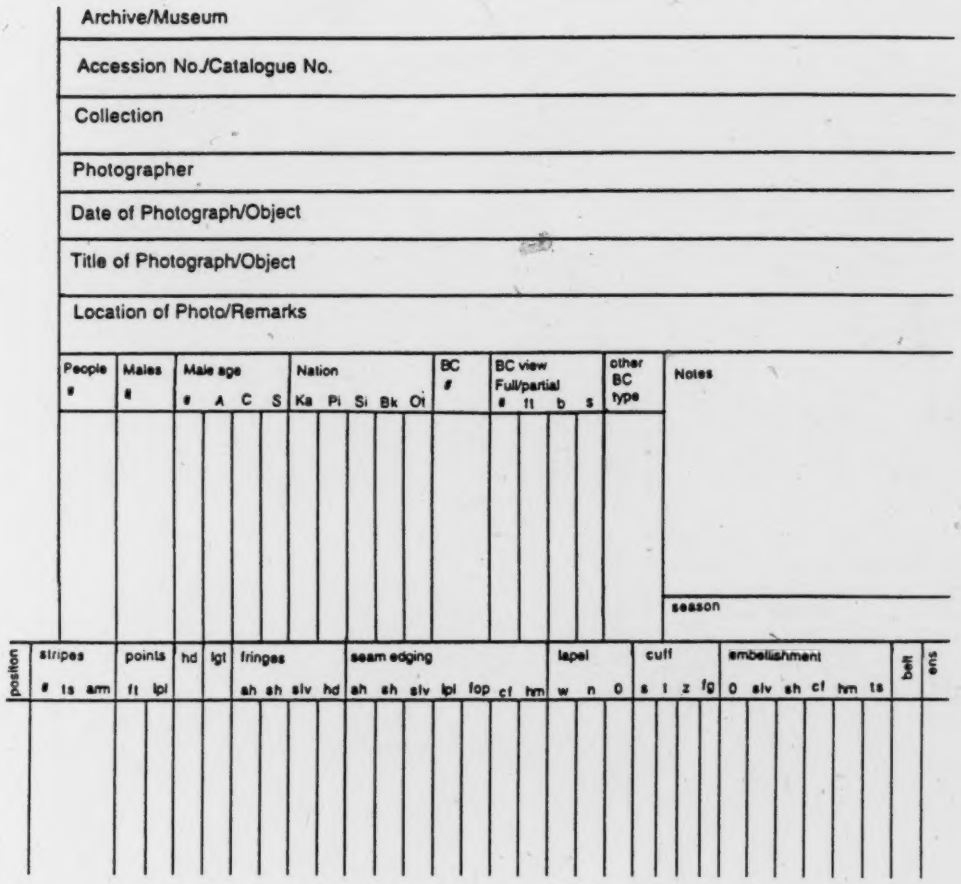

Figure 1.3 Data collection sheet.

A	adult	ft	front
C	child	b	back
S	senior	s	side
M	males	lgt	length
Ka	Kainah	ts	torso
Pi	Pikuni	lpl	lapel
Si	Siksika	ah	arm hole
Bk	Blackfoot	sh	shoulder
BC	blanket coat	slv	sleeve
ens	ensemble	hd	hood
#	number	fop	front opening
0	none	cf	cuff
w	wide	hm	hem
n	narrow	t	tongued
s	straight	z	zig zag
n	narrow	fg	fringed
Ot	other		

Figure 1.4

Abbreviations of the attributes listed on the data collection sheet.

2. BEGINNINGS

Background to the research: "We must journey back to be able to move forward"

For a long time I have questioned my motivations and reasons for my interest in clothing history among First Nations peoples, primarily because I am a white, English-speaking Canadian. I am terribly conscious of the rights of First Nations people to the authority and control over the representations of themselves and especially over their pasts. There is much evaluation taking place in the 1990's, at all levels of involvement worldwide, that is examining the effects of colonization on the manipulated histories and suppressed values of Indigenous peoples (Canadian Museum of Civilization with the Commonwealth Association of Museums and the University of Victoria, 1996). Misinformation, misrepresentation, stereotyping, and alienation are some of the malingering effects of colonization. Deborah Eldridge, a member of the *Nyoongah Yorga* people from south western Australia, said "we must journey back to be able to move forward" (Personal communication, May 17, 1994).

During the latter half of the nineteenth century ancient systems of leadership, religions, and identities were thrown into confusion by the disappearance on the prairies of a hunting lifestyle based on following the movements of immense herds of buffalo. Cultural changes were enforced by colonial policies of assimilation (Tobias, 1990; Miller, 1989). Assimilative dogmas such as British social values and Christian moralities were introduced with determination on the reserves across Canada (Pettipas, 1996; Miller, 1989; Titley, 1986). Poverty, disease, family decay and dysfunction followed this rupture in lifestyle and, even today, still directly contributes to a

phenomenon of social dismemberment that many Kainah, Siksika and Peigan Elders have recognized as a "cultural void" (Russell Wright, pers. comm, April 19, 1993; Bastien and Bastien, 1992). Individual, family and community roles were subsumed by the social systems of a Dominion Canada in the early days on the Siksika, Peigan, and Kainah Nation Reserves. Ironically, though, while cultural systems, social order, and religions were being broken down, strong values integral to life and to individual identities did persist and survive massive assimilation (Mountain Horse, 1979; H. A. Dempsey, 1995; L. J. Dempsey, 1988; Mancini Billson, 1992; Bastien and Bastien, 1992; Pettipas, 1996).

Proper beginnings

Deborah Eldridge (Pers. comm., May 17, 1994) has referred to the process of learning, understanding and research as a journey. In Yurok Nations philosophy, "if you don't start at the very beginning, or go back to it when you should, your efforts are considered out of control. You have reason to doubt yourself and thus, by definition, you are afraid. The process of education is seen as a process of gaining absolute self-confidence, of vanquishing doubt, and thus fear....The only way to remove all doubt is to begin at the beginning and follow through" (Buckley, 1992, p. 43).

To start the process of unraveling complex problems of histories, perceptions and identities, I have begun with myself. My personal inventory involves my childhood summers on my grandfather's farm near Lac Ste. Anne, north of Edmonton, Alberta. The land as I knew it seemed boundaryless and was traversed only by deer trails, rabbit runs, cow paths, and by big animals such as moose, black bear, elk and cougar. Romantically, I grew up thinking of

the land, the creatures, the grasses, the trees, the waters as elements which provided not only comfort and familiarity, but also friendship. I was not afraid then. I have seen many changes to the ways in which the land has been altered by oil, mining, and timber development. How differently the old-timers and the owners of the new sub-divisions respond to the land's features and to its history.

Lived memories and everyday experiences contribute to a local knowledge of the past that is usually much different than the extensive published histories. For example, "every day is the same day" were words spoken by professor, historian, and Kainah member Dr. Leroy Little Bear (Personal communication, April 21, 1993). He was speaking at an Alberta Museums Association workshop about the interconnectedness of life throughout time. Communal and individual energy, or strength, to adapt and live is gained and transmitted by orally, visually, and cognitively shared memories, stories, songs, and beliefs. This "energy force" is passed along, within and through diverse relationships through time in a process of cosmological and cultural renewal.

When I remember the words spoken by Dr. Little Bear, I recalled the "feelings" of "energy" that I received from specific objects which have influenced my life. As a visual artist, I have experienced unvoiced metaphysical communication on which, I have realized, art-making with integrity is based. To clarify this phenomenon, when one looks at an intense work of art one can "feel" its presence from an intangible and emotive impact at a sub-conscious level. As a viewer, one "feels" the "life" of an artwork or object. The first object to make such an impact on me was a large gray and brown *iniskim*, or buffalo stone. The second group of objects from which I felt an emotional "surge" or

"energy force" was a collection of very old headdresses from the Kainah Nation Reserve, and part of the O. C. Edwards Collection at the University of Alberta. To me, they called out for assistance in their discomfort. I researched one of them and discovered that it was worn by a member of a Kainah Brave Dog Society. At this time, I was beginning to discover the barriers and tensions involved in cultural research, particularly regarding the sensitive and political issues such as proper respect for religious objects, autonomy, representation, repatriation, and knowledge copyright. In 1992, I researched an unidentified, painted deer skin shirt located at the Provincial Museum of Alberta (Ethnology collection, H62.2.305). There was no information provided about this shirt, other than that it had been collected by the photographer Ernest Brown, some time between 1911 and 1939. The shirt was stored between pieces of tissue paper in a drawer. Yet, it was full of the presence of the person and people who had worn it. Looking at its enlarged pores, the sweat stains, the greasy fingerprints on its front, the red ceremonial paint and at the beaded symbols on the cuffs, I realized that I must be very careful to use respectful processes of approach, handling, and communication. All of my experiences since this time, whether talking with people or with living objects, have continually affirmed the necessity of respectful and proper processes.

Proper processes: Interpretations of history and cultural research

The acted role of an Indian,
A character assumed wrong.
The continuous misinterpretations
Of a life
That is hurting.

Echoes climb,
Distorted
Endlessly by repeated lies.
An undertow of current time.

Will it ever die?
Loosen the bond.
Undo?
Will not this relating ease

So that we may rest,
Performance over
And unravel the mistake-
Stories told
Of Indians and white men.

(Rita Joe, *The Poems of Rita Joe* , in Sioui, 1992, p. 1.)

Sometimes the cultural research process seems like it is leading to a "chaotic mess" of conflicting information, ideologies, and philosophies in which are embedded layers of historical and current political agendas and unethical assumptions about meaning and representation perpetuated by generations of researchers. This "mess" (or *mental emotional stress syndrome*: Russell Wright, pers. comm. April 22, 1993) is recognized by Joane Cardinal Schubert on one of her art installation panels entitled *Preservation of a species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS*: "Chaos is the natural order of the universe. If you try

to order it, it's like trying to order the stars. You have to work with it" (cited in McMaster and Martin, 1992, p. 134).

In this section, I have gathered a collection of thoughts by First Nations writers about change in processes of interpretation of history, and historical and cultural research.

Historian and Six Nations Iroquois member Deborah Doxtator (1988) writes that,

> To most of Canadian society, the past is very separate from the present and the future. The past is measured precisely in years and days....There is a notion of progression, and an idea that certain things have been left behind forever, as if as a result of time they belong now to a different world or culture. To Native societies, the past is not as distinctly separate from the present....The physical expressions of traditions change, different ways of life are taken up, but the most basic principles that direct those traditions and ways of seeing the world remain. (p. 27)

According to most First Nations ideologies, historical interpretation is relative to spiritual energies (teachings) maintained and passed on in oral records and by physical objects (Little Bear, 1995; Bastien and Bastien, 1992; Crane Bear, personal communication, June 29, 1995 and Dec. 10, 1996).

Peigan member, Leonard Bastien (1992) writes that, "The history of Native and non-Native relations can be described as uneasy and colored with mistrust. We must, on both sides, accept the dysfunctional nature of the interaction and make equal efforts to create a new relationship that will foster a sharing of the many good things that we have to offer each other" (p. 4).

Similarly, historian and Huron member Dr. Georges Sioui (1992) comments that,

> American history as a whole has erected walls and dug chasms of mistrust and incomprehension between the descendants of the aboriginal race and the nations newly formed on American soil, with all the associated consequences: poverty, the cultural degeneration of minorities and the powerless, racial conflicts, guilt, and wide spread social impoverishment. (p. xx) .

From these passages, history and historical interpretation may not be definitively understood as chronological because consciousness and existential realities have no linearity but are related to energies existing throughout and across time. These ideas have contributed to much of the historical and ongoing misunderstandings and, in turn, stereotyping of the images of First Nations peoples largely by the people of the "dominant" society.

Poet, writer and Laguna Pueblo Sioux member Paula Gunn Allen explains her people's relationships with history and its interpretation,

> We use aesthetics to make our lives whole, to explain ourselves to each other, to see where we fit into the scheme of things. But "the scheme of things" doesn't mean the world according to Aristotle; rather it means " our common (tribal) reality" as articulated throughout the ages in our traditions....Because these facts are basic to our lives, they are basic to our stories. And because we are storytellers, we shape these traditional and historical facts within aesthetic matrices to form significances that

> carry us beyond (while including) the political, the historical, the sociological, or the psychological. (Gunn Allen, 1989, pp. 8-9)

Little Bear (1995) speaks about the conceptual dimensions of life energies interrelated throughout time and history, "we view everything as being in constant flux. The only way you can picture something that is in constant motion is as an interrelational network which I refer to as a kind of spider's web network. So that anything on any part of the spider's web you can get to any other way. You might have to detour, but eventually you can get to any other part" (p. 7).

Interestingly, theoretical physicists working with what is called *quantum mechanical theory* describing the creation of the universe have begun to think that the concept of creation implies understandings about *beginnings* which in turn implies understandings about *time*. English physicist Stephen Hawking (1992) writes that "Maybe imaginary time is really the real time and that which we call real time is just a figment of our imagination; real time is just an idea that we invent to help us describe what we think the universe is like" (p. 132). Hawking's ideas are remarkably similar to most First Nations ideologies that space and time are energy functions that are interrelated in four dimensional geometry (Crowshoe, 1994; Little Bear, 1995; and Sioui, 1992). This relationship describes the axis of the universe and of existence. For most civilizations, understandings of ideas about consciousness and about beginnings are highly spiritual and form the essential fabric of cultural value systems. For these dense reasons ideologies of being are closely guarded and

defended. Protection of what is believed to be right and true, when combined with a colonizing drive promotes dangerous ideological ethnocentrism which in interpreting Canadian history has contributed to much of the historical confusion, exploitation, and everyday misunderstanding between First Nations and immigrant cultures.

In a conference entitled *Autochthonous Scholars: Toward an Indigenous Research Model* (March 15-18, 1995, University of Alberta), professor and Mayan member Dr. Carlos Cordero explained that in Western civilizations, thinking systems have become segregated into categories; that is, the sciences, the arts, philosophy, and religion. Indigenous systems, he explained, have always integrated logic, reason, and the intellect with respect for the senses, emotions and intuition. Furthermore, North American Indigenous traditions have always "grounded humanity in a larger environmental reality... balancing dynamic growth and cooperation between individuals and between individuals and their environments" (Carlos Cordero, personal communication, March 16, 1995).

Many First Nations speakers, authors, artists, and thinkers have acknowledged difficulties in communicating ideas about their own thinking systems, not only to people of diverse ethnic heritage, but also to people with First Nations ancestry. Difficulties exist in representing to a wide audience individual views that are held within a communal context. This can lead to pan-Indian stereotyping of First Nations communities by other First Nation members.

However, Sioui (1992) has recognized a need for stating empirical differences in the practice of interpreting history from individual viewpoints:

> If history is to be sensitive to society's needs, it must also study and reveal what is salutary, instead of continuing to talk about "primitive" cultures that are dead or dying. Such history is socially irresponsible, pointless, and misleading. History written in that way is like a shell without its animal content: its subject is matter, not thought. Amerindians are naturally given to reflect on the order of life (the circle) and the purpose of things. They do not see history as a meaning that humans confer on life; for them, the sense of life is, instead, the liberty of every being. They believe that humans do not make life, but that life makes humans. To Amerindians, the theory of evolution signifies the human being's authority over time; history as imposed on Amerindians represents the outsider's refusal to let them fulfill their vision. Trying to understand life's teachings means following its movements; caring only for recording the "facts" in order to remember them means choosing stagnation over movement, the profane over the sacred. (pp. 22-23)

Understanding the differences in thinking systems and of being human implicates complex social needs for defining and protecting cultural differences. In a manuscript published by the Siksika Nation Indian Government Committee, Andrew Bear Robe, a Siksika member, (1992) writes that,

> First Nations maintain that our right to self-government emanates from our sense of aboriginality, from our "Indianness", from our sense of

> justice, spirituality, customs, values, and socio-political conscience. We believe that the Creator pre-ordained the orderly existence of the various nations of the earth, including the situ's of their homelands, their laws and their political systems. Whenever one nation imposes itself upon another nation, as was the case in North America, the transgressor nation must respect the sovereignty and laws of the nation imposed upon. (p. 11)

In a draft proposal adopted in principle by the Third General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, May 1981, Part 1, Article 1 states that, "All people have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right Indigenous peoples may freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural developments" (Asch, 1988, p. 133). Furthermore, in the same document, Part IV, Article 2 recognizes that,

> The primary responsibility for the protection and development of the cultures and religions of the Indigenous People lies with the Indigenous People. To this end the original rights to their material culture, including archeological sites, artifacts, designs, technology and works of art lie with the Indigenous People or members of the Indigenous People. Indigenous People have the right to reacquire possession of significant cultural articles presently in the possession of public or semi-public institutions, where possession of those artifacts was not obtained from the Indigenous People in a just and fair manner or where the artifacts are of major cultural or religious significance to the Indigenous People. (Asch, 1988, p. 135)

These principles define essential human rights that secure cultural identity. Legal recognition of these rights under International Law is called "self-determination" (Bear Robe, 1992; Asch, 1988).

Parallel principles and recommendations for recognizing the authority of Canadian First Nations to historical and cultural interpretation were established by the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association by a document entitled *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples* (1992). This document recognizes that museums are important vehicles for the transmission of knowledge, cultural values, and as forums for intercultural sharing and learning. Accordingly, any researcher must present models of ethical standards in research and in interpretations of history (Mihesuah, 1993).

Guidelines for ethical research have also been established by the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996). The principles and conditions for ethical research set down by this federal commission support and validate principles of First Nations sovereign rights to self-determination, among which includes "the protection, retention, and growth of the distinct ... language and culture" (Siksika Indian Government Act, Siksika Nation, 1992, p. 20). Among the Peigan Nation, the protection of cultural growth is supported by a Band Council Resolution (1989) program called KEEP OUR CIRCLE STRONG. This program recognizes and protects human and aboriginal rights in spiritual and political traditions that have existed long before these sovereign rights were recognized by the Canadian Government. Furthermore, Andrew Bear Robe (1992) states that, "We maintain that the politico-religious organization of the Blackfoot Confederacy was never disturbed but had simply remained dormant since 1877" (p. 27). This

observation is significant and its relationship to persisting spiritual and cultural values held by Blackfoot First Nations people is examined in an analysis of archival photographs and existing blanket coats in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

3. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Images and identities created and stereotyped: Anthropology and photography

In relating to the renewal and continuity of life through time, the values of a people can not "vanish" or "die". Yet the "dying out" or "disappearing" of First Nations' lifestyles literally became a focused point of reference in the thinking of many Canadians and Americans into the twentieth century (McMaster, 1993; Doxtator, 1992; Trigger, 1985; Miller, 1989; Pettipas, 1994; Tobias, 1991). Pioneer ethnologists, such as Clark Wissler, Robert Lowie, and Franz Boas, dispersed from the academic centers of New York and Washington to examine the lifestyles of unknown North American Nations, were instrumental in establishing professional colonial biases within anthropological literature (Ewers, 1980). Whether academic or political, whether consciously disseminated or not, similar colonial biases existed in Canada. Katherine Pettipas (1994) writes about the political ideologies of the late 1800's that,

> It was believed that non-Western societies could be transformed through programs of directed change and by exposure to the British system of values. Thus, the imposition of British political rights and lifestyle had "universal application" and, indeed, would be desired by Native colonials once they became aware of the benefits of "civilization" ...Considering themselves to be "leaders of civilization" and successful "pioneers of industry and progress," Victorians evaluated the cultural systems of other societies against their own image. It was a hierarchical

> world, with Britain at the apex of material and moral progress. (pp. 19, 20)

These attitudes were honestly and innocently held by academics and by political figures in the late nineteenth century as right and necessary for the good and "betterment" of both colonized and colonizers. Concepts such as racism and ethnocentrism did not exist, were not consciously defined, in the general thinking during the 1800's and into the early twentieth century (Lyman, 1982; Cardinal, 1977; Pettipas, 1994). Modified theories of Victorian humanism led to more explicit notions about the origins of the world's races where, unfortunately, European ethnocentrism placed non-Europeans in positions of cultural and biological inferiority (Pettipas, 1994).

Intellectuals of the mid and late 1800's were interested in hierarchical distinctions between cultures and peoples. As the "science" of anthropology emerged, assessments of intelligence, technological development, and cultural behavior began to be linked with physiological differences (Lyman, 1982). In an analysis of the work of the early American photographer Edward Curtis, Christopher Lyman (1982) writes that,

> In the measurement of human bodies, or anthropometry, as it was called, photography was often employed as a means of making visual records. Anthropometric photography, though often independent of the extremes of "scientific" racism, could also frequently provide the vehicle for racial and cultural stereotypes. By the turn of the [twentieth] century, anthropometric photography had been reduced to a generally standardized format. This format includes at least two portraits, one full

frontal, and one in profile, usually shot against a neutral background. (p. 81)

Understanding the influences for early ethnographic photography is important for understanding the "culture of image-making " (Blackman, 1986) of the late nineteenth century and, consequently, public tastes influencing studio portraiture. Because photography was valued by early anthropologists as a tool for recording the "vanishing" physical presence of Indians, photographic evidence was seen as empirical and the attitude of " the camera never lies" generally was meant to uphold indisputable fact (Lyman, 1982; Jenkins, 1992; Silversides, 1994). The formats and applications of early ethnographic photography has in turn contributed to commonly held associations of "Indianness", of a frozen, static image of an overall Indian identity that persists as "All Indians wear feathers and ride horses" (Churchill, Hill and Hill, 1978, p. 47; Hedican, 1995, p. 39). Anthropologist and Sioux member Dr. Bea Medicine writes that especially in early North American ethnology, "Many Indians were seen as living museum pieces...The over-riding conviction of the disappearing native hastened the collection of a record that has formed a congealed ethnographic present impervious to change. The image of the Plains Indian remains generally fixed in the mind of the public" (Medicine, 1971, p. 28).

Images about First Nations peoples began to be embedded in the associative consciousness of the Canadian society and they were augmented and embellished by imperialist legislations, by social theories about human evolution, by the development of popular media, advertising, cultural fairs, the American movie industry, and Wild West shows (Doxtator, 1992; Francis, 1992;

Hedican, 1995). Perceptions of "the Indian" as a political nuisance and as an inferior, colonial subject became, through the use of photography, tourism, advertising and popular culture, the "exotic Indian", a desirable, romantic public commodity (Francis, 1992).

In a traveling exhibit curated by Deborah Doxtator and Tom Hill entitled *Fluffs and Feathers* (Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, 1992-1994), the invented images of First Nations' identities by perceptions generated by the majority are exposed:

> Most people are familiar with the images of "Indianness" created by non-Natives but know little or nothing about how we see ourselves. The image of "Indians" presented in popular culture has even influenced the expectations and perceptions we have of ourselves. This is not surprising since the stereotyping of one group of people by another [even among First Nations people] is an act of power and control. Stereotyping occurs when a group, for their own purposes, tries to define another people and in doing so, sets boundaries and limitations for them. (Doxtator and Hill, 1992, from exhibit panel)

Many myths and stereotypes about identity have been created through dense layers of cultural misunderstanding. Commonly held myths about First Nations have entered mainstream consciousness and were fostered mainly by politicians and by politics in the late nineteenth century, and then by popular entertainment, and by advertising in the early twentieth century. The colonially and politically driven stereotypes describe First Nations members as savages, primitive, inferior, history-less, immoral, devil-worshippers, pagans, barbarians,

lawless, brutes, violent, dangerous, unpredictable, unproductive, drunks, lazy, wasteful, backward, and child-like (Churchill, Hill and Hill, 1978; Doxtator, 1992; Francis, 1992; Lyman, 1982; McMaster and Miller, 1992; Medicine, 1971; Pettipas, 1994).

When the mythical or "imaginary Indian" (Francis, 1992) began to be viewed as an exotic commodity, as a cultural treasure, mainstream society began to invent positive stereotypes that further added to the confusion embedded in already distorted and exploited First Nations' identities. Promoted mainly by large motion picture companies and by advertising of all kinds, a pan -Indian character type was invented that enhanced the existing stereotypes that all Indians were noble, romantic, mysterious, natural, stoic, exotic, picturesque, sensual, silent, wise, and brave. In the words of Churchill, Hill, and Hill (1978), "The public wanted Indians, and it got what it wanted" (p. 48).

In a recent exhibit of old and current photographs of First Nations peoples, entitled *Partial Recall* (Lippard, 1992), curator and Cherokee member Rayna Green comments that,

> As Native people, we're grateful for the romantic "before" portraits of what we were like when the bad guys came and mucked it all up, and then we feel worse when we learn how badly they've tricked us, givens us illusions, dreams of a past we can't get back. The Age of the Golden Tipi. Then we also hate these "after" pictures where they've made us just like them. (1992, pp. 49-50)

In the same exhibit, editor, writer and Comanche member Paul Chaat Smith (1992) responds, "But maybe it's better to be vilified and romanticized

than completely ignored. And battles over historical revisionism seem doomed from the start, because the last thing these images are about is what really happened in the past. They're fables being told to reshape the future" (p 99).

The result of image manipulation, of cultural exploitation, and of ethnic stereotyping is that historical interpretation has to a large extent been received through a distorted lens of perception. When looking at archival photographs for primary evidence of clothing preferences, the researcher must consider that the intentions of the photographer, the photograph's technical limitations, and the subtle ethnocentric biases of the photographer all distort the visual information in the photograph. Photography must be understood in the context of the photographer's and the viewer's social biases and expectations towards First Nations peoples. Margaret Blackman (1986) comments that, "By the latter part of the 19th century stereotypes of American Indians were firmly entrenched in American culture and routinely perpetuated by photographers who marketed images commercially. It was the costume and the hairstyle which made the Indian; thus photographers often kept a stock of Indian costumes and even wigs in which to outfit their subjects." (p. 154). An example of this is Red Crow's portrait by Frederick Steele in 1895 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B1342). The buckskin jacket he wears is the identical jacket worn in Frederick Steele's studio photographs of Crow Eagle, Peigan, 1895 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B2278), of Black Plume, Blood, 1895 (Saskatchewan Archives Board R-B1344), and of Charcoal, Blood 1897 (Saskatchewan Archives Board R-B1350).

In searching for photographs of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats, this research considered the archival photographs of five collections: E. Brown, H. Pollard, the Oblate Fathers, A. Lupson, and T. J. Hileman. These five

collections were used for attribute analysis. Single photographs by C. Horetsky and W. E. Hook were also examined. The earliest photograph of a Blackfoot blanket coat was taken by Charles Horetsky in 1871, at Rocky Mountain House. Some of the latest images were taken by Arnold Lupson in the 1940's.

Some of the archival photographs are studio portraits. There are two by C. W. Mathers (1891-1893) in the E. Brown collection, and 13 by T. J. Hileman (1927). Most of the remaining photographs are documentary, most are posed and some are not. All of the photographs included within this study present Blackfoot First Nations people dressed in blanket coats. A systematic examination of the blanket coats in the photographs was planned in order to help make comparisons across the variety of sources used and to help minimize cultural or visual assumptions made inadvertently by the researcher. None of the blanket coats viewed in any of the photographs appeared to be added by the photographer as "props," although this was commonly done by many photographers in and outside the studio during the late 1900's and early 1900's.

Interdisciplinary research: circle concepts

In the previous sections, a variety of thoughts, philosophies and problems in cultural interpretations were briefly explored. As Sioui (1992) has commented, important differences in perception and, thus, interpretation of history exist between First Nations methodologies and those methodologies based upon models of European intellectual and academic standards. As a researcher moving between these approaches, there seems to be common ground intersected within an interdisciplinary model derived from First Nations philosophies and an organization of ideas which links the study of material

history and people. In Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Human Ecology model, the schematic diagram looks like a cross-section of a tree where the microsystem of the family at the core is linked with the macrosystems of the outer layers of society. Similarly, the Hoop of Life (Gadacz, 1991) is a model that represents the symbolic centre of Creation and the well-being of an individual and, by association, of the community and larger society.

Various models for interdisciplinary research were examined in order to better understand the implications of research that concerns ecologically and ethically oriented approaches and material objects. Little Bear (1995) speaks of a spider's web concept, or "network", where information can be clustered into patterns and linked into larger relationships. Sioui refers to the "concept of the 'Great Circle'...[where] an obsessive respect for the specificity of each link becomes the indispensable condition for the integrity of the whole" (Sioui, 1992). Little Bear, Cordero, and Sioui explain that *interconnected* relationships operate between emotional, physical, and intellectual awarenesses and that these are, in turn, present in all ideologies. These processes involve ancient mechanisms for planning, for decision-making and for living with one's self and with others within a community.

Researchers whose work refers to these interconnected patterns are beginning to revise their methodologies from ones based on thinking systems that have generated theories based on the principles of "cause and effect" paradigms to methods and models that emphasize equality between research partners, sharing, and a higher degree of ethical responsibility regarding who benefits from the results of the work (Gadacz, 1991; St. Denis, 1992; Hedican, 1995; Mihesuah, 1993; Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996).

I have mentioned approaches to historical interpretation and alternative thinking systems. While this research is about interpreting history, it is also about comparing that information to clothing that contains other forms of information that must be interpreted. This type of information must be compared again to other visual information, particularly archival photographs. The variety of topics that must be associated can be organized within a circular format that embraces the cyclical or spiral process of creating and relating ideas (Bopp, Bopp, Brown, and Lane, 1985; Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

Within the cyclical thought process, the research methodology depended on linking information that deals with the abstract, the philosophical, the spiritual, the historical, the present, the archival, the qualitative, the quantitative, and the material object. While the research incorporates circular models from several disciplines, its form can be best represented by Crowshoe's schematic tipi (R. Crowshoe, copyright permission, personal communication, June 25, 1997, Figure 3.2). As Crowshoe explains, "the ceremonial circle can be transposed from the past to the present. Place the circle structure in today's meeting rooms and examine the process...It is a structure which guarantees survival and successful existence; it is a system which can be restored to the modern world" (Crowshoe, 1994, p. 8).

Like Crowshoe's KEEP OUR CIRCLE STRONG model for meaningful and balanced social order and decision-making, the objectives and goals of the project are at the core of the research. The supporting information, references and sources, are positioned around the inner sides of the circle. The supporting roles of the research committee and others consulted are recognized and are also placed within the circle. Past and present cultural and theoretical knowledge may be linked across and between the primary and

secondary sources within the research web. Within an interdisciplinary research methodology, associations in the information may then be grouped and new understandings about the *patterns* of evidence may be generated.

As a part of the research process and objectives, some people who were most involved with the care of museum objects and with the interpretation of Blackfoot First Nations objects were consulted. These people were the members of the Glenbow First Nations Advisory Council (GFNAC) (see Appendix C): Clifford Crane Bear, Harold Healy, Irvine Scalplock, Jeanette Starlight, Donna Many Grey Horses, Margaret Snow, Rita Marten, and Gerry Conaty. Other people consulted were Reg Crowshoe, Pauline Dempsey, James Dempsey, Trynee Warrior, Linda Warrior, Joanna Walton, Katherine Pettipas, and Judith Beattie. Other people who provided much assistance were Anne Lambert, Jill Oakes, Jane Ash Poitras, and Richard Price. Some people were consulted early in the process, some during and throughout, and some not until the later stages. There have been many other people, over the years, whom I have listened to and from whom I have gathered knowledge and insights. These people have been Peigan Elder Joe Crowshoe, Peigan Elder Josephine Crowshoe, Siksika Elder Russell Wright, Leroy Little Bear, Carlos Cordero, Georges Sioui, Deborah Doxtator, Tom Hill, Deborah Eldridge, Bea Medicine, and Gerald McMaster. Words flow like a warm breath over and between the pages and across time. Some stay, and some of them disappear; either one remembers and learns, or one waits for the time to be right.

Object research and content analysis

Content analysis is a method that provides an objectivity and discipline in rooting out concrete information from sources of knowledge, such as

photographs and material objects, where information is inferred or embodied (Holsti, 1969; Paoletti, 1982; Lambert, 1992). Paoletti (1982) states that "There are as many different methods of content analysis as there are applications" (p. 14), as long as there is enough similar information to be quantified (p. 15). Attribute analysis is a tool used for making objective inferences in historical, ethnohistorical, and material culture studies (Holsti, 1969). Zerwig's (1995) study documenting Alaskan *Yuit* reindeer hair embroidery recognizes that attribute analysis is a form of content analysis and that content analysis utilizes both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Lambert (1992) affirms that "rarely can content analysis stand up on its own without the support of other methods and sources" (p. 59).

Lambert (1992) reviews theses that apply content analysis in studying clothing and textiles. The theses of Prince (1992), MacKinnon (1992), Taylor (1990), and Smith (1991) provide useful and careful examples of statistical analysis of archival information, such as census lists and Hudson's Bay Company annual supply inventories. Other studies which have systematically used attribute analysis of clothing and textiles are Blackman (1981), Conn (1955), Grounds (1988), Oakes (1991), Openda Omar (1993), Schimke Cyr (1978), C. F. Taylor (1990), Wass (1975), and Wilson (1991). Most of these researchers identify their primary methodology as ethnohistorical, yet the capacities of attribute analysis as a methodological tool remain undiscussed.

Although many of the studies mentioned here combine varieties of content analysis with object study, only three researchers, Openda Omar (1993), Blackman (1981), and Wilson (1991) take their analyses from photographs. Openda Omar (1993) records information from Kenyan dress seen in photographs which enables a descriptive analysis of clothing

attributes. Blackman (1981) uses a type of content analysis to compare archival photographs showing changes in Haida village architecture. Wilson (1991) examines clothing types worn by cowboys in archival photographs taken in the late 1800's in Montana. Wilson's analysis was based on information from photographs, from cowboy garments from three collections, and from written primary and secondary historical sources.

Holsti (1969, pp. 121-122) writes that, "the frequency with which an attribute appears in messages is a valid indicator of concern, focus of attention, intensity, value, [and] importance" provided that the researcher compares units of content that are consistent. Lambert (1992) and Paoletti (1982) also stress that the units of analysis, or the instrument categories, be reliable, sufficient, and consistent. Further, sampling error and/or bias in defining and measuring the coding units present definite risks to the validity of the method. To prevent these risks from occurring coding units must be carefully chosen and defined, keeping in mind the objectives and questions of the research. Coding units must be applied uniformly to all sources of information. All of these requirements provide reliability and replicability (Lambert 1992, Paoletti, 1982, Holsti, 1969).

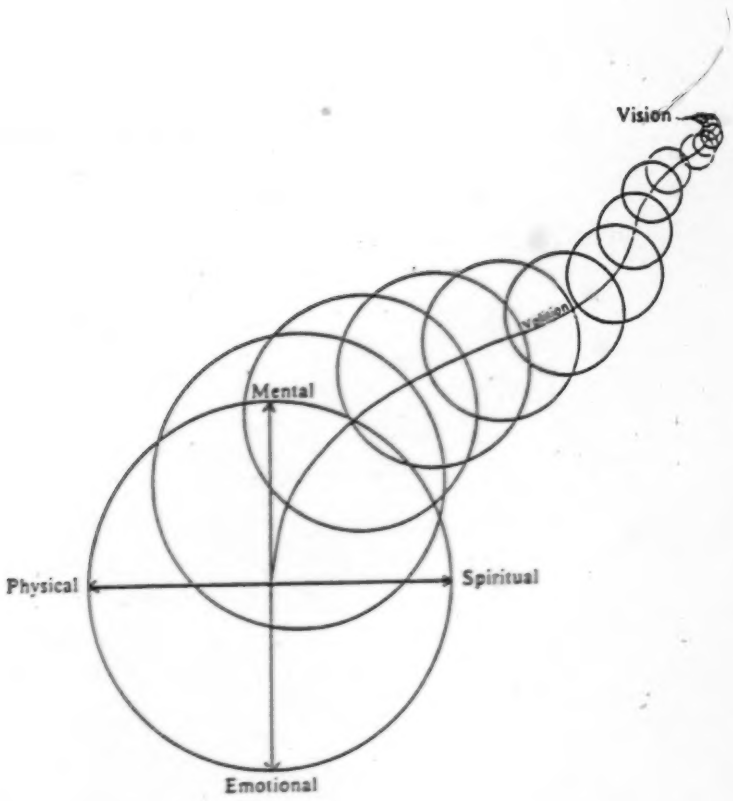

Figure 3.1 Cyclical model indicating process of relating ideas. Copyright permission by Phil Lane, The Four Worlds International Institute for Human and Community Development (*The Sacred Tree*, 1985, p. 15).

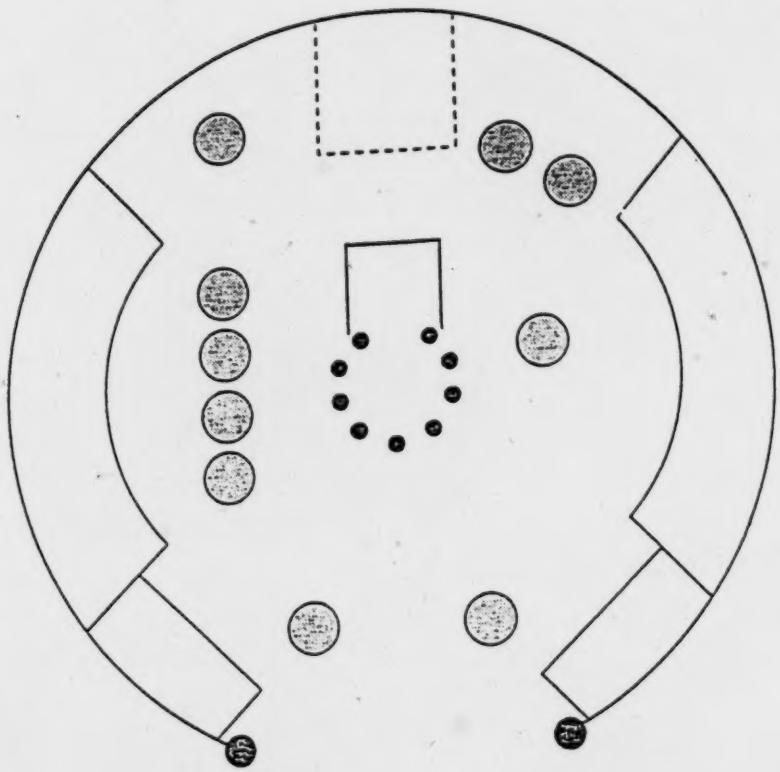

Figure 3.2 Schematic tipi model for balanced order and decision making. Copyright permission, R. Crowshoe, Director of Operations, Oldman River Cultural Center, Brocket, Alberta

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

First Nations clothing literature

The earliest academic documentations of clothing in North America are found within ethnographic writing (Eicher and Roach-Higgins, 1993). Within academic writing clothing has been understood as material culture, as art, as craft, and more recently as dense indicators of spirituality, psychology, philosophy, politics, economics, and history (Roach and Eicher, 1979; Maurer, 1979; Penny, 1971; Welters, 1993; Roach and Musa, 1980; Kaiser, 1990; Oakes and Riewe, 1995; Schneider and Weiner, 1991). This section will examine the literature relevant to discussing change in Blackfoot First Nations upper body clothing during the late 1800's.

Colin Taylor's (1986) study of decorative and structural changes in nineteenth century Blackfoot skin shirts indicates a level of understanding of Blackfoot First Nations clothing history, one that does not consider cultural change and adaptation within clothing forms. Taylor's study, and especially his later works (Taylor, 1987, 1990), emphasize the importance of decorative symbolism and its relationship to the structure of the skin shirt, and that these features when compared may provide a basis for dating museum artifacts. Ethnologist Clark Wissler was also interested in classifying Blackfoot clothing. He established a generalized typology of men's skin shirts and women's skin dress styles for the "Plains" (Wissler, 1915, 1916), believing that they were "original" styles (Wissler, 1915, pp. 53, 85). Wissler's ideas and language are representative of period notions of scientific authority and social order. For many succeeding generations of scholars interested in North American material culture, Wissler's classification of "Plains" clothing was definitive

(Conn, 1955; Koch, 1977; Paterek, 1994). It is interesting to note how Wissler's notions of a uniformity of "Plains" clothing styles for men and women already fit neatly into imagined and stereotyped ideas of pan-North American Indian identities, promoted so skillfully in the late 1800's by ethnographic and studio photographers. In the decades of the 1900's that followed Wissler's published studies, ideas about a pan-Indian identity gained momentum and veracity in the minds of all North Americans. Ewer's (1980) study of Wissler's (1915) work indicates Eurocentric biases and attempts to point out large gaps and misinterpretations of the clothing in Wissler's work. Yellowhorn (1990) comments succinctly on the legacy of academic assumption that,

> We can no longer proceed in the fashion that has sometimes characterized the history of museums. This procedure assumed that museums were the guardians of Indian patrimony and that the scientists and scholars were the rightful interpreters of the meaning of Indian history and culture. It is refreshing to note that the theories that informed this interpretation of Indian culture, the argument that cultures inevitably evolve or should evolve from the "primitive" stages of hunting and gathering societies to the sophisticated "higher civilizations," have largely crumbled. Many scholars of human culture point out just how dreadful these theories were, both as instruments in the colonial enterprise of Europe and North American over the last 400 years, and as presumably objective means for understanding culture. (pp. 27-28)

When I began to look at some of the earliest photographs taken about what was to become Alberta, I realized, like Ewers, that a big discrepancy

existed between that clothing that I saw in the photographs and the attitudes and ideas about artifacts collected from the late 1800's as they have been discussed by Wissler (1915, 1916) and even by Taylor (1986, 1990). For example, the photograph in Figure 4.1 was taken in 1871 by Charles Horetsky at the Hudson's Bay Company post of Rocky Mountain House. Charles Horetsky was hired by Sanford Fleming to accompany a survey party for the Canadian National Railway (Birrell, 1971) His job was primarily to document the landscape for the survey. The photograph in Figure 4.1 shows a group of nine Peigan men (unidentified) and a Catholic missionary (unidentified). Three of the men are wearing dark great coats (or quite possibly capotes: Cole, 1993, p. 12; Hanson, 1990, p. 4) with two rows of buttons, four are wearing dark, striped blankets, two are wearing striped blanket coats and one is wearing a weasel pelt skin shirt. This photograph indicates that a wide variety of clothing and materials was available through trading posts like Rocky Mountain House, and that First Nations people, like the men seen in Figure 4.1, correspondingly, wore a wide variety of clothing.

While Wissler and Taylor may have observations restricted to museum collections, other writers like Maurer (1979), Penny (1991), Roach and Musa (1980), and Welters (1993) raise important observations about the relationships of clothing to social change and some of the key psychological functions of clothing that help sustain cultural values through social change.

Roach and Musa (1980), Mauer (1979), and Penny (1991) refer to similar ideas that clothing, and overall appearance more inclusively described as dress, is vitally important for establishing social roles, cultural values and

expectations, and ultimately personal survival among one's own people and among other people's societies. Clothing, through shared visual cues and symbolism, helps establish or adjust personal identity within social roles. Once a pattern of clothing cues has shared social meaning, clothing facilitates cultural solidarity (Roach and Musa, 1980, pp. 16-17). Penny (1991) describes the capacity of clothing to indicate social resistance of a group within a larger social authority. Another good study of this widespread phenomenon particularly among colonized societies is Susan Bean's (1991) writing about Ghandi and his advocacy for self-determination through a campaign to promote the making and wearing of Indian homespun cloth called *khadi* . Penny's (1991) historical analysis explains how among the Red River Metis, the Ojibwa Nations, the Huron Nations and others, floral embroidery was used to exaggerate ethnic identity particularly when used to decorate formal ceremonial clothing. He says,

> Thus, Native Americans of the Great Lakes after mid [19th] century successfully deployed two fashion systems, white and Indian, which operated simultaneously and interchangeably, depending on the occasion. One, imposed by the dominant white culture, was an expression of accommodation; the other, employing floral images as white-acknowledged signs of difference, functioned as an expression of Indian solidarity and vitality. (Penny, 1991, p. 69)

Maurer (1979) indicates the interaction of clothing and personal and group identity to transmit public messages of honor, success, knowledge, respect, balance, mood, generosity, and military and social skills. All of these

value-based functions of clothing are communicated through symbolism in structure and in decorative forms, which, as forms of nonliterate "text", can also convey historical continuity and communal cosmologies (Maurer, 1979; Taylor, 1990, 1993).

Welters (1993), Penny (1991), and Maurer (1979) recognize that clothing, particularly historical clothing, can be interpreted from European and from Indigenous perspectives; fashions are interpreted according to the cultural system(s) within which they operate. However most writings about clothing and clothing theories agree that whatever the culture, clothing, the body, the self, others, and surrounding environments are interactive and that "the total becomes more than the sum of its parts. Thus the body merges with elements of dress to become the *total* of personal display" (Roach and Musa, 1990, p. 11).

Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats can be better understood from these ideas, particularly when Blackfoot cosmologies are noted on and within the coats. An examination of the Scarface story told by South Peigan (Montnan Blackfeet) member, Three Bears, and translated by D. C. Duvall in 1910 (D. C. Duvall Papers, Glenbow Archives) contains many references to important structural and decorative symbols found on ceremonial hair-lock and weasel pelt skin shirts. For example, the placement of hair-locks, the placement of the bead or quill work, associated designs such as painted or beaded stripes, the placement of the stripes, the number of the stripes, the colour of the stripes, the colour of the skin, and the use of the whole skin. Studies by C.F. Taylor (1990, 1993) and Waugh (1990) indicate that the patterns, designs, and structure of Blackfoot male clothing were considered to be communally owned principally because of their cosmological associations and ceremonial functions.

Ceremonial Blackfoot clothing still holds this capacity (R. Crowshoe, personal communication, June 25, 1997). Symbols relating to specific medicine pipe societies, and to men's and boy's societies are represented on Blackfoot ceremonial clothing. In a secular way, the use of some of the societal designs is similar to the "badges of office" and achievement of membership and status seen, for example, in insignia on Royal Canadian Mounted Police uniforms. Crowshoe confirms that within some of the archival photographs viewed, some of the blanket coats have been given markings which are used in combination with specific society medicine bundles (Personal communication, June 25, 1997). These aspects are discussed following the analysis of the archival photographs and the blanket coat collections.

Blanket coat literature

The origins of blanket coats in North America are very old. Antecedents of 19th and 20th century blanket coats can be found in monastic dress of Byzantine times from about 300 AD (Tortora and Eubank, 1990). In North America, blanket coats are called *capotes* in Hudson's Bay Company ledgers, in traveler's accounts, in most dictionaries, and in most of the clothing literature (Back, 1988; Back, 1990; Back, 1991; Burnham, 1992; Cole, 1993; Engage, 1979; Forrest and Oakes, 1991; Gaede and Workman, 1979; Hanson, 1976; Hanson, 1988; Hanson, 1990; Holm, 1956; Hungry Wolf, 1970; Kapoun and Lohrmann, 1992; Mackay, 1935; McKinnon, 1992; Plummer and Early, 1969; Prince, 1992).

Back (1991) explains that capotes were garments common to working men and women which, in Europe and in North America, had many regional

names and occupational applications (1991, pp. 4-5). A capote was and is still described as a coat, primarily hooded, and usually made from blanket wools such as kersey, duffel, or serge (Back, 1991). Historically capotes were also made from other materials such as skin (Burnham, 1992), beaver fur, linen, and sometimes combinations of materials were used especially decorative trims like lace, ribbons, and gold braids (Back, 1991, pp. 6-8). Capotes may be fastened with a belt, with buttons, ties, or toggles and usually reach to the knee or longer (Back, 1991, p. 6). In many archival drawings and paintings, the cuffs of capotes can be observed to be long and folded back, or fastened back with buttons, (Back, 1991, pp. 5, 7, 9, Burnham, 1992, p. 15), or narrower with no buttons (Burnham, 1991, pp. 7, 9, 17).

Back (1991) documents the capote in North America as early as 1570 from a reference which appears in an inventory from a Basque whaling ship sent to Labrador (Back, 1991, p. 4). Back (1990) explains that capotes were commonly worn by sailors and that the sailors of the royal navies were outfitted with capotes (Back, 1991, p. 4). Not surprisingly, capotes are mentioned by many explorers of North America: Champlain in 1605, Radisson in 1665, Thompson in 1776, and MacKenzie in 1789 (Back, 1991; Provincial Museum of Alberta files). Reproductions of archival drawings and paintings of capotes worn as early as 1581 are shown in Back (1991, pp. 5, 9, 11-13) and Burnham (1992, pp. 8-17).

Capotes and blankets were traded to peoples living in North America from many European countries but primarily from France until 1763 when New France was formally surrendered to England (Back, 1991; Dickason, 1992;

Morton, 1983). In December, 1779, the Hudson's Bay Company contracted with Thomas Empson, blanket maker of Witney, Oxfordshire, England for point blankets, apparently on the advice of a French trader in Montreal (Hanson, 1988). At this time the Hudson's Bay Company introduced the point blanket in order to regulate the fur trade and to compete with the Montreal based fur traders. The Hudson's Bay Company had been buying blankets from Witney Mills since the Company's incorporation in 1670 (Plummer and Early, 1969). Plummer and Early (1969) cite a source from 1677:

> The 'duffields,' which were "otherwise called shags, and by the Merchants, trucking cloth," were made in pieces some 30 yards long and 1 3/4 yards wide, and dyed red and blue, the colours most pleasing to the North American Indians, "with whom the Merchants truck them for Bever, and other Furs of several Beasts, etc., the use they have for them is to apparel themselves with them, their manner being to tear them into gowns of about two yards long, thrusting their arms through two holes made for that purpose, and so wrapping the rest about them as we our loose Coats." (p. 39)

Back (1991) documents that blanket coats were used as ready-made (imported) trade goods in 1606 among Micmac peoples. By the mid 1600's most blanket coats were made up by seamstresses in New France for the fur trade and supplies were supplemented by ready-made capotes from France (Back, 1991, p. 8). Regionally made capotes in New France were often styled after fashionable French overcoats such as the frock coat or justacorps (Back, 1991). Features such as buttoned back "boot" cuffs, sometimes buttoned

pockets and a buttonhole on the front left flap were added to distinguish this regional style from the hooded "loose" blanket coat typically worn by French, British, Dutch, and Spanish sailors. A finger woven sash or "ceinture fleche" completed the blanket coat style known as "capot a la Canadienne" worn by early French settlers from 1680 to the mid 1800's (Back, 1991; McKinnon, 1992).

From visual sources such as watercolours, paintings, and drawings, other blanket coat styles can be detected (Burnham, 1992; Newman, 1987; Back, 1991). Those used by the fur trade, by the British army, or by French and German soldiers are generally fastened in front with ties, and sometimes by a single or double row of buttons (Back, 1991; Burnham, 1992; Engages, 1979; Gaede and Workman, 1979; Hanson, 1990; Newman, 1987; McKinnon, 1992). Hudson's Bay Company trader Alexander Ross, cited in McKinnon (1992) observed in the Red River Settlement in 1856 that "most [capotes] had small shoulder decorations made of red stroud, and to keep the capot closed, both thongs and/or buttons were used with a colorfully woven worsted belt. Used by the native populations, the most popular colors were white or blue" (p. 39). Back's (1991) study indicates that while, "blue capots were still popular among Canadians during the middle of the 18th century, other colours such as brown, gray or white took on a growing importance" (p. 6). Soldiers and sailors for whom the blanket coat was standard issue, were generally not permitted to trade their coats (Back, 1991; Gaede and Workman, 1979). From the visual information, hoods of French blanket coats appear to have round tassels added at the peak (Back, 1991). Other hoods are not tasseled or tasseled with long strips of wool (Newman, 1987, p. 376). References to blanket coats

fastened with "sailor's sashes" and with sashes "ornamented with porcupine quills" are cited by Back (1991, p. 6) from a source dated at 1729.

Some blanket coats were specially made for trading captains (Back, 1991). These coats could be embellished with lace, ribbons, and/or gold or silver epaulettes (Back, 1991; Burnham, 1992). Blanket coats were further decorated locally by beads and/or beaded or painted designs, or furs (Burnham, 1992; Newman, 1987, p.263). In a sense this garment could represent in its origins an item of clothing uniquely adapted to visually displaying cultural identity (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

Trade blanket literature

Until 1760 when England occupied New France, the Hudson's Bay Company had been in competition with the French woolen mills in the export of red, blue, white and striped blankets (Back, 1990; Back, 1991; Hanson, 1976). After this time, the standard trade blanket exported to the North American colonies by the Hudson's Bay Company from France was the white blanket with blue or red stripes (Prince, 1992; McKinnon, 1992; Hanson, 1976).

In an examination of the clothing worn by Red River Metis, 1815-1835, McKinnon (1992) determines through an analysis of the Hudson's Bay Company inventories in this time period that plain white with blue striped blankets were preferred over red, blue or green blankets. Because white blankets dyed with two indigo stripes were cheaper to produce, they were cheaper to purchase (McKinnon, 1992, p. 38).

In addition to early standardization of trading capotes by French trading companies, the point blanket system was eventually used in combination with

the Hudson's Bay Company system called "made beaver" (Butler, 1878/1968, p. 283; Plummer and Early, 1969, p. 42). The "point" system, though, as a method of indicating blanket weight and size and thus trade value, was an idea borrowed by the Hudson's Bay Company from French fur traders (Back, 1990, p. 4; Hanson, 1988). Back (1990) explains that due to rivalries between the trading centers of New England, New France and the Hudson's Bay Company, the French introduced the "point" measure on its trade blankets in the 1690's. "Point" is a French word which "refers to a unit measure used in different kinds of trade, and the verb "empointer" was originally used to describe the action of making stitches with a thread on a piece of cloth" (Back, 1990, p. 4). Before 1779, point blankets were requisitioned from French and English woolen mills by the North West Company through Montreal, Albany and Buffalo (Back, 1990; Plummer and Early, 1969). Point blankets made in Darnetal, near Rouen, were made expressly for the Canadian trade and were labeled "Canadasts" (Back, 1990, p. 7). On British woolen blankets, one to four points, usually from four to five inches long, were woven along the blanket edge and placed about two inches from a coloured band woven the full blanket width (see Figure 4.3).

From this survey of the literature, the most common blanket style sold by the Hudson's Bay Company from about 1779 to 1930 (Hanson, 1976, p. 8) appears to be a sulphur bleached kersey twill with two dark blue or black stripes about four inches wide and woven the width of the blanket, and including points, most commonly two to four (Back, 1990; Back, 1991; Hanson, 1976; Hanson, 1988; McKinnon, 1992; Plummer and Early, 1969). In the Witney Mills, sulphur bleaching was used up to the end of the First World War.

This process was replaced by hydrogen peroxide bleaching in 1947 (Plummer and Early, 1969, p. 135, 136). Most point blankets made by British woolen mills were called "kerseys", a long-haired staple wool, woven into a diagonally-ribbed twill weave which produced a high nap efficient at shedding rain or snow (Hanson, 1988; McKinnon, 1992). The dark blue stripes were usually woven with indigo dyed wool, an inexpensive dye in the 1800's (McKinnon. 1992). Logwood was a dye used to obtain black (Hanson, 1976; Engages, 1980). The dark blue bands were placed two inches from the edges of a blanket by weavers to indicate the boundaries of one blanket from another; the wool was woven on a continuous warp creating as many as 18 blankets in one piece, about 30 yards long (Hanson, 1988, p. 5; Plummer and Early, 1969, p. 39). Usually the blankets were sold in pairs (Plummer and Early, 1969; Hanson, 1988).

American fur traders, and the US Office of Indian Trade, also ordered heavily from British wool mills (Hanson, 1976; Hanson, 1988; Plummer and Early, 1969). A demand for blankets with more stripes and more colours seemed to be initiated by American fur trading companies. Perhaps this can be explained by a previously existing market for multi-coloured, striped Navajo blankets among trading peoples in the middle and southern plains of North America. Joe Ben Wheat (1976) notes that in a portrait of *Kiasax*, a Peigan man, painted by Karl Bodmer in 1833, the blanket he is wearing is what is known as a "Phase I" Navajo Chief blanket (p. 428). According to Wheat (1976),

> By 1800, the design had become formalized into the pattern known as the Phase I Chief blanket. In this blanket, wide black and white stripes alternated with wider dark end stripes and a double-width stripe though the center. The end bands were further enhanced by the inclusion of paired narrow stripes of indigo blue, while the central band had two pairs of blue stripes. Sometime before 1850, the blue stripes were occasionally bordered by very narrow stripes of red from raveled cloth. (p. 428)

By 1829 the American Fur Company had begun to order from the Witney Mills white 2-3 point blankets with three stripes, two outer red and a central blue (Hanson, 1976). These multi-coloured, striped blankets are referred to in the inventories of the American Fur Company Papers as "Hudson's Bay Blankets" (Hanson, 1976, pp. 7, 9), Interestingly, they were also known to American traders as "Hudson's Bay Chief Blankets" (Hanson, 1976. p. 7; Kapoun and Lohrmann, 1992, pp. 25, 28). The reason for this overlap is certainly because the multi-coloured Hudson's Bay Company blanket did resemble the highly prominent Navajo Chief blanket design. A term that may be confused with "Chief" blanket is "Chief's" coat, which refers to a blanket capote embellished with ribbons, lace, braids or furs and was made for trading captains (Hanson, 1990, p. 10).

Because England had strict control over the export of wool and breeds of sheep used for their wool, the American woolen industry did not begin to develop until after 1783 and the end of the American Revolution (Kapoun and Lohrmann, 1992; Morton, 1983). The earliest American woolen mill was established in New England in 1837 by J. Capps and Sons. Two factors aided

cross-pollination of Navajo blanket designs with European-made designs: annuity blankets given at treaty negotiations with American First Nations people beginning in 1776, and the spreading of the railway across the American Southwest (Kapoun and Lohrmann, 1992, pp. 31-34).

Hanson (1976) states that the Hudson's Bay Company started selling multi-coloured, striped point blankets in the 1820's (p. 7). However, a letter dated at 1805 from the Early Mill in Witney to the Hudson's Bay Company documents the first order of multi-striped and multi-coloured blankets for the North American fur trade (Plummer and Early, 1969, p. 66). This letter indicates that three bar stripes of blue, red, and yellow on white 2 1/2 point blankets were ordered by the Hudson's Bay Company. Other blanket colours listed in the same letter were red striped, green striped, red and green striped, and red and blue striped (Plummer and Early, 1969, p. 66). The appearance of multi-coloured, striped wool blankets coincides with the use of the John Kay's "flying" shuttle, introduced at the Witney Mills in the early 1800's (Plummer and Early, 1969, p. 49).

What this review of the literature indicates is that while the Hudson's Bay Company was distributing multi-coloured, striped blankets from 1805 onwards, it was the older, originally French, white and single blue striped blankets that were ordered most by the Hudson's Bay Company, and were preferred by settlers and First Nation peoples in Canada, particularly as imported or locally made blanket coats.

Figure 4.1

Unidentified Peigan Nation men and missionary, Rocky Mountain House, 1871. Photographer, C. Horetsky. National Archives of Canada, Sanford Flemming collection, C 7376.

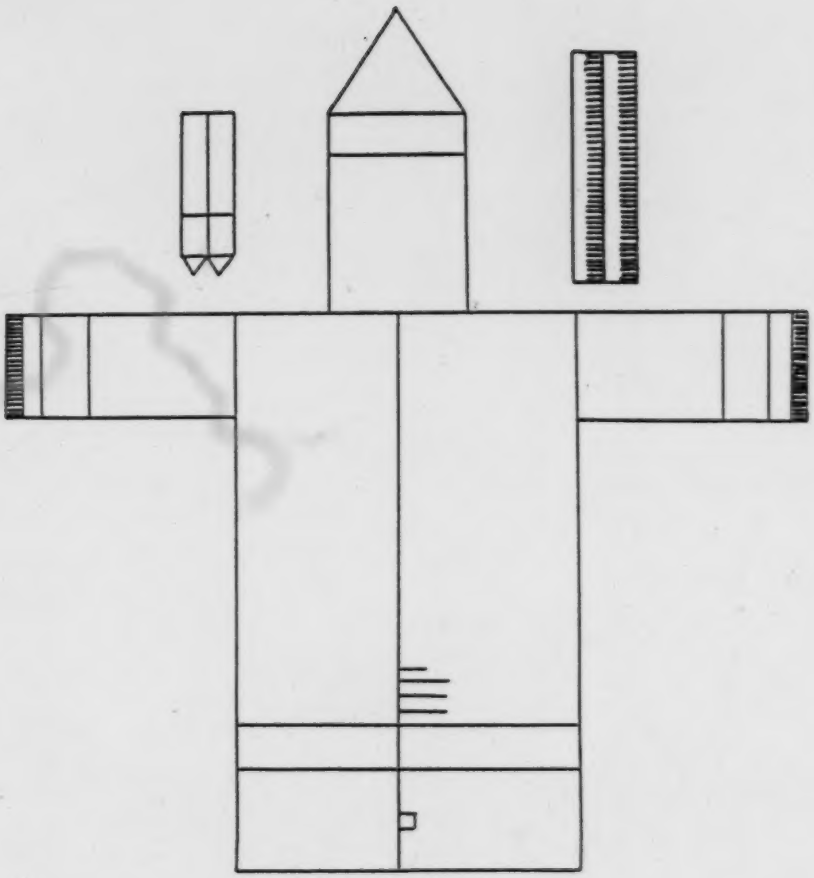

Figure 4.2

Drawing of Wolf Chief's blanket coat, H66.147.1,
Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta.
Drawing by A. Smith Bagan.
Scale: 1/20 actual size.

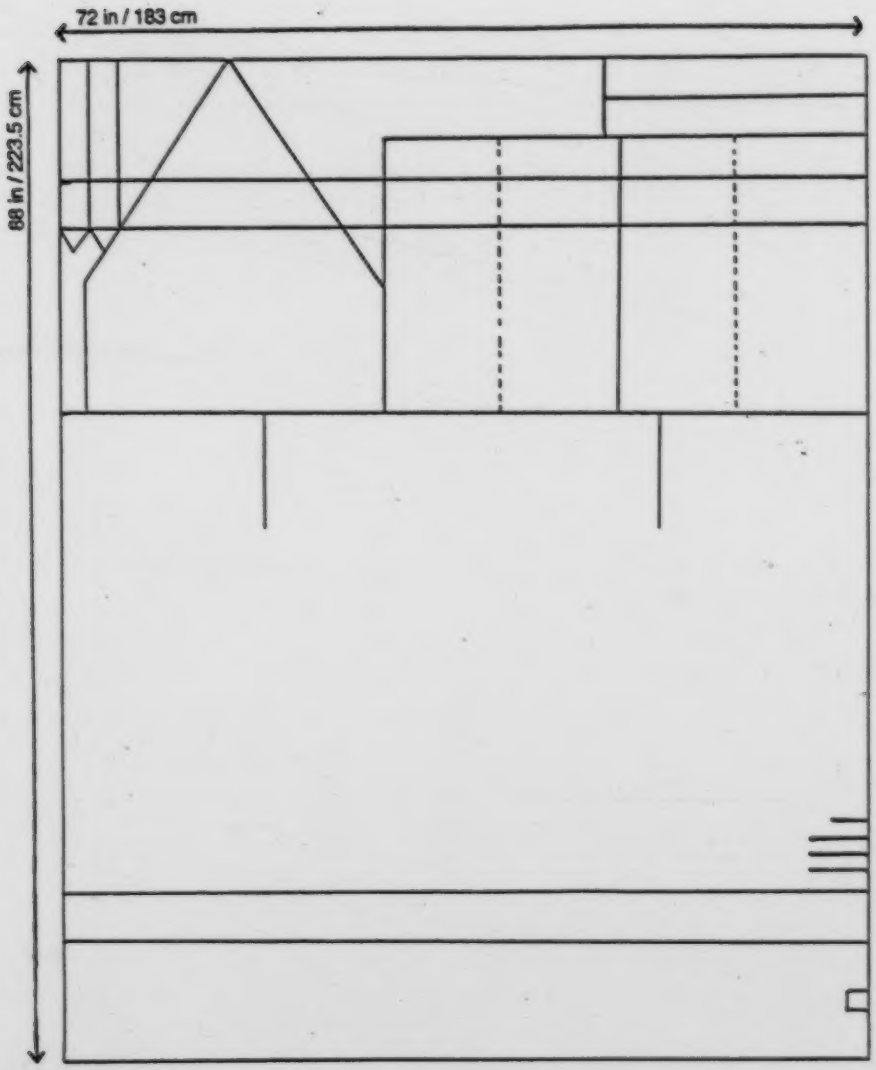

Figure 4.3

Pattern and layout of Wolf Chief's blanket coat, H66.147.1,
Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta.
Drafted by A. Smith Bagan.
Scale: 1/20 actual size.

5. A STUDY OF BLANKET COATS IN ARCHIVAL AND MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

Introduction

> The objects of Blackfoot life are significant, not because of their economic value, but because of their meaning for a people and a living culture....In the end that is what the preservation of cultural artifacts and the documentation of cultural tradition provides for us. (Yellowhorn, 1990, pp. 25, 29)

This chapter will compare 126 blanket coats viewed in 82 archival photographs at the Provincial Archives of Alberta and the Glenbow Archives, to 17 existing Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats in the collections of the Provincial Museum of Alberta and the Glenbow Museum. The three most consistently observed structural features, the number and placement of stripes, points and tassels from the blanket coats examined in the photographs were compared to the same features observed in the existing blanket coats. Five Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats were located at the Glenbow Museum (Figure 5.15). Twelve Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats were located at the Provincial Museum of Alberta (Figure 5.13). Ninety-three Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats were located in photographs at the Provincial Archives of Alberta (Figures 5.3, 5.5, 5.7). Thirty-three Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats were located in photographs at the Glenbow Archives (Figures 5.9, 5.11). A total of 143 individual Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats were observed, which were analyzed in 12 attribute categories (see Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1). Information was analyzed from categories that included structural features

shared in the photographs and in the existing coats. The 12 attributes examined were the presence or absence and placement of stripes, and point marks, on the body (torso), the sleeves, the hood, or on the lapel of the blanket coats (see Figure 5.1 and Appendix A). A data sheet (see Figure 1.3) was used to collect information on the attributes in the photographs and also the blanket coats existing at the Provincial Museum of Alberta and at the Glenbow Museum. The information from these attributes was further compared to other clothing studies, to historical literature, and to comments made by Reg Crowshoe and by Clifford Crane Bear.

In addition to these attributes, one of the research questions addressed other attributes, such as placement of seam edging, coat length, and location of embellishment. While this information was listed on the data collection sheet, the number and placement of stripes became the key attributes that could be compared across the museum collections and within the literature review and other sources of information.

The blanket coats were analyzed (see Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1) in terms of the frequency of occurrence of stripes on the main body of the coat or torso (upper torso, Tors U; middle torso, Tors M; lower torso, Tors L), the sleeves (upper sleeve, Slv U; middle sleeve, Slv M; lower sleeve, Slv L), the hood (Hd), and the hood tassels (HdTSt). Stripe location on individual coats was also recorded. A percentage comparison of stripe position and stripe placement information was plotted using the computer program Cricket Graph (Cricket Software Inc., Malvern, Pennsylvania).

The colour of the stripes was not included as an attribute on the data collection sheet because this feature was indeterminable in the black and white photographs. However, several observations about blue and black

striped blanket coats could be made by comparing the historic and ethnographic literature, comments made by R. Crowshoe and by C. Crane Bear, and the existing coats in the museum collections. It was hoped that a systematic comparison of the structural features of blanket coats, could clearly demonstrate cultural continuities in clothing history among the Blackfoot First Nations people.

The E. Brown collection

Ernest Brown (1877-1951) came to Canada from Yorkshire, England in about 1902 (Holmgren, 1980). He arrived in Edmonton in 1904, where he worked for the photographer C. W. Mathers, who had been trained by W. H. Boorne and E. G. May, prior to 1891 (Holmgren, 1980). In 1893, Mathers purchased the negatives and the business from Boorne and May. In 1905, Mathers sold his studio to Ernest Brown, and the negatives of Boorne and May and Mathers in 1908 (Holmgren, 1980).

In 1871, the British Journal of Photography reported the invention of gelatin-coated glass plate negatives. These were an improvement over the "wet" plate process (invented in 1851) which required that the light-sensitive coating of collodion and potassium was applied while wet to the glass plates just before the image was exposed (Upton and Upton, 1976). The dry plates didn't need to be assembled on the site and this made travel photography that much more immediate. By 1888, the gelatin-coated glass negative was replaced with rolled film. Photography became accessible to anyone with the introduction of George Eastman's Kodak camera. Exposure times decreased from 12 to 10 seconds to 1/25 second with the hand held Kodak (Upton and Upton, 1976, pp. 8-17). Archival historian Brock Silversides comments that

most professional photographers in Alberta were using glass plate negatives up to the mid-1920's but that Kodak cameras were available to people on the prairies from about 1895 (Silversides, 1994, p. 5).

The E. Brown collection contains about 38,555 photographs, dating from about 1881 to 1929 inclusively. Nineteen photographs in the E. Brown collection were found to show Blackfoot First Nations people wearing blanket coats between 1881 and 1900 (Figure 5.3). These 19 photographs showed a total of 165 people of whom 113 were males. Of the males, 43 wore blanket coats: 17 were boys and 26 were men. The determination of who was a "boy" and who was a "man" was based on a visual assessment of who was an "adult" male and who was "not adult" and male. If a person in the photograph was observed as not fully grown, and "not adult," the person was listed as "child," male or "child," female. Determining between male and female children in the photographs was not always possible. This limited the amount of information that could be collected about blanket coats worn by either Blackfoot First Nations boys or girls.

Information from Figure 5.2 shows that of the stripes occurring on the torso of the blanket coat a lower placement was most common (89 %). A stripe at the middle sleeve was predominant (63 %) over upper and lower placements. Most of the coats (25) had one stripe at the elbow and one stripe at the lower torso (Figure 5.3). Just one had five stripes on the torso and three stripes on the sleeve. This exception is a coat shown in a Boorne and May photograph and was not dated in the archival records (B1021, Provincial Archives of Alberta). Since all photographs by W. H. Boorne of Blackfoot First Nations people predate 1893, this exception does indicate that multi-striped coats were a style that was worn by Blackfoot First Nations males before 1900.

However, the blanket coat style that was most common had one stripe at the elbow and one stripe above the lower torso hemline.

The H. Pollard collection

Harry Pollard (1881-1968) opened his photography studio in Calgary in 1898. The H. Pollard collection contains about 12, 000 negatives of which about 200 specifically depict First Nations people between 1900 and 1916 (Provincial Archives of Alberta reference file, 1978). Of the 200 photographs surveyed, 22 showed Blackfoot First Nations people wearing blanket coats. The total number of people in the photographs was 162, of whom 156 were male. Twenty-nine adult males wore blanket coats. No boys or girls were observed wearing blanket coats in this collection.

From Table 5.1 and Figure 5.4, several interesting observations about the frequencies of the placement of stripes may be made. While stripes located at the lower torso remained predominant at 51% (Figure 5.4), a greater frequency of stripes occurred in the middle torso and upper sleeve in this sample of photographs dating from 1900 to 1916 than in the E. Brown collection, circa 1881-1900 (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). From Figure 5.5, clusterings of the numbers of stripes occur at two stripes on the sleeve and at four stripes on the torso. In this sample, more coats with more than one stripe on the torso were observed than in the sample from the E. Brown collection. The later dates of the H. Pollard collection begin to indicate temporal changes in numbers of stripes seen on Blackfoot First nations blanket coats.

The Oblate collection

The photographs collected by the Oblate Fathers, Order of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.), date from about 1880 to 1920 in this sample. Most of the photographers of the Oblate collection are anonymous, taken by priests, missionaries, and other people associated with the Catholic church. From approximately 30,000 photographs in the Oblate collection, 9 were found with images of Blackfoot First Nations people wearing blanket coats. Of 147 people in the photographs, 137 were Blackfoot First Nations people, 27 wore blanket coats: 10 boys and 17 men were wearing blanket coats.

In the photographs in this sample, results from Figure 5.6. indicate that stripes occurring at the lower edge of the coats are still the majority of the sample at 64 %. Figure 5.7 indicates that most of the coats (7) have more than one stripe on the sleeves and only one stripe on the torso. Photographs showing views of blanket coat sleeves with multi stripes and with no or one stripe on the torso were most common in the Oblate collection, between 1880 and 1920 (Figure 5.7).

The A. Lupson collection

Arnold Lupson's collection dates from 1926 to 1947. He came to the Calgary area shortly after the first World War. He died on the Tsuu T'inna (Sarcee) Nation Reserve in 1951. Perhaps romantically, Lupson, like Pollard, was attracted to the Blackfoot First Nations people as intriguing photographic material. However, unlike Pollard, Lupson did not operate as professional photographer who needed popular and intriguing images to sell to support his business. Rather, Lupson lived among the Tsuu T'inna First Nation people for about thirty years and maintained an ongoing photographic record of events on

the reserve and among the Blackfoot First Nations communities (Glenbow Archives Reference Series No. 6).

Of the 1094 photographs in the A. Lupson collection, 19 were found to show Blackfoot First Nations people wearing blanket coats. These 19 photographs depicted a total of 170 people, of whom 156 were Blackfoot First Nation males. Twenty of the males wore blanket coats; no boys were observed wearing blanket coats. No females were observed wearing blanket coats.

Analysis of these photographs (Figure 5.8) shows that the distributions of stripes are similar to the patterns observed on the coats in the Oblate collection (Figure 5.7). In the A. Lupson photographs, 49% percent of the stripes occurred at the lower edges of the coats, and 41% of the stripes occurred at the elbow or middle sleeve (Figure 5.8). The distributions of these attributes occur consistently in the Oblate and in the A. Lupson photographs (see Figures 5.6 and 5.8). In comparison with the photographs in the E. Brown (1881 to 1900) and the H. Pollard collections (1900 to 1916), the coats dating from the 1920's have more stripes present on the sleeves and middle and lower torso than those coats observed in photographs from the E. Brown collection (Figure 5.9, Figure 5.3). From Figure 5.9, there are three coats with five stripes on the torso, and one coat with six stripes on the torso.

The T. J. Hileman collection

Tomer J. Hileman (1882-1945) worked as a publicity photographer for the Great Northern Railway at Glacier National Park, Montana, throughout the 1920's and 1930's (Glenbow Archives reference files). Of 91 photographs observed in the T. J. Hileman collection, 13 were found to show Blackfoot First Nations people wearing blanket coats. All of the photographs were dated at

1927. The 13 photographs were individual studio portraits, all of which were of Blackfoot First Nations men, all of whom were identified within the photograph captions. Most of the individuals were members of the Kainah Nation (Mountain Horse, 1989, pp. 35-48). With the exception of one photograph, the views in this collection were all restricted to the upper body; findings in this sample exclude observations of the lower torso. Figures 5.10 shows the favoured position for stripes on the sleeve is at the lower sleeve, and (Figure 5.11) the most favoured number of stripes on the sleeve is one. Just one coat in this sample had three stripes on the torso and two stripes on the sleeve (Figure 5.11).

The Provincial Museum of Alberta collection of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats

There are twelve existing blanket coats in the ethnological collection at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. These coats were analyzed for the distribution and frequency of stripes in Figures 5.12 and 5.13. These coats have all been designated within the museum data base as Blackfoot First Nations. The coats were accessioned from 1966 to 1989. No dates for the construction of any coats exist other than one exception, a boy's short blanket coat and leggings (H 68.179,1 a, b, c, PMA), made in 1967 by Mrs. Enid Badman, for her 4 year old grandson to wear in the Standoff Indian Days parade. The coat is completely coloured with a chalky brick-red powder. The coats in this collection are hand sewn and machine sewn; some are both, some are exclusively hand sewn or machine sewn. From Figure 5.13, eight of the coats have four multi-coloured bands across the middle and lower torso

with three stripes on the upper, middle and lower sleeve (H66.100.1; H67.229.2; H71.73.1; H72.73.1; H89.220.171; H89.220.172; H89.220.173, PMA).

One coat (H66.147.1, PMA) is an example of a single, indigo blue stripe on the lower torso edge and on the lower sleeve edge. A single black-striped South Peigan (Montana Blackfeet) Nation blanket coat, dated at circa 1890, exists at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, in Cody, Wyoming (NA.202.276). The single blue or black-striped blanket coat represents one of the oldest and most common blanket coat style seen in archival photographs, paintings and drawings before the late 1880's (Figure 5.17). From information included with the accession record, this blanket coat was owned by Wolf Chief (biographical information not known) of the Kainah Nation, and was donated to the Provincial Museum of Alberta by Mrs. Emma Red Crow of Cardston in about 1966. Interestingly, this blanket coat was accessioned with what was referred to in the records as a "Horn Society pipebag and sacramental stone." Because the cataloguing system does not always acknowledge that such diverse objects may sometimes represent fundamental parts of a complicated clothing ensemble, the identities of these objects were fragmented by being catalogued into other object classes.

Another good example of this is Mr. Chief Calf's blanket coat (see Figure 6.4, H66. 67.51.3, PMA). This coat was purchased by the Provincial Museum of Alberta in 1967 from Mr. Chief Calf who was a contemporary of Mr. Wolf Chief. They were photographed together with Red Leggings by Arnold Lupson in about 1920 (see NA-667-25, Glenbow Archives). Wolf Chief and Chief Calf are

wearing highly ceremonial skin suits and holding religious men's society staffs. Red Leggings is wearing a multi-striped blanket coat that has hairlocks at the shoulder seams and white weasel tails down the outside sleeves, matching multi-striped blanket coat leggings, and he is carrying a society staff and a rifle. Another photograph of Red Leggings can be seen in the catalogue of the Scriver collection (Stepney and Goa, 1990, p. 93), photographed by H. Pollard, circa 1913 (see OB 390, Provincial Archives of Alberta). In this photograph Red Leggings is wearing the same blanket coat, made distinctive by the coat tails tucked into his belt (see Figure 6.3).

Chief Calf's blanket coat (H. 67. 51. 3, PMA) is made from a light weight, red plain weave, with a cotton warp. As can be seen in Figure 6.4, this coat is not constructed from a Hudson's Bay Company blanket, but from very low quality blanket material. The material in this coat in very similar to the blue blanket material of a coat at the Glenbow Museum, AF 2289. The accessions records for AF 2289 (GAI) state that the coat was "Made out of an old [U.S.] army blanket." Like Wolf Chief's blanket coat (H.66.147.1, PMA), Chief Calf's coat (H. 67.51.3, PMA) was accessioned with other objects necessary for the identity of the ensemble. These objects were listed in the accessions records as a shield, a medicine staff (made by Joe Gambler, who retained the medicine power), a skin bag, a parfleche, a brass studded belt and a knife sheath. The accessions records state that Mr. Tom Brown witnessed the sale, and Mr. Chief Calf, who could not read, signed with an X.

The blanket coat (H89.220.171, PMA) in Figure 6.5 was made for Mr. Bob Scriver from a Hudson's Bay Company blanket. Since Bob Scriver was an

honorary member of the Montana Blackfeet Nations, his coat was catalogued as such by the PMA. Hairlocks fastened within two plastic discs are sewn to each shoulder seam. While Wolf Chief's and Calf Chief's coats are hand stitched with thread, Scriver's coat has been completely machine sewn.

The Glenbow Museum collection of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats

At the Glenbow Museum I examined five blanket coats with Blackfoot First Nations designations (AF 57; AF 2289; AF 3609; AF 3629; AF 5521; GAI). These coats were accessioned from 1957 to 1989. Figure 5.15 gives a profile of these coats that is similar to the ethnographic collection of blanket coats at the Provincial Museum of Alberta (Figure 5.13), and to the frequencies representing the total number of coats viewed in all the collections (Table 5.1). Of the five blanket coats at the Glenbow Museum that were analyzed, 53% of the torso stripes occurred at the bottom edges of the coats (Figure 5.14). This is similar to the preferred placement of torso stripes in the PMA collection (Figure 5.12).

The most interesting blanket coat in the Glenbow Museum collection has three stripes on the sleeve, and four stripes on the middle and lower torso (see Figure 5.18, AF 3629, GAI). This coat was purchased by the Glenbow Museum prior to 1958 from an unknown source. Each shoulder seam is embellished with a beaded strip with light blue, red and black beads. This coat has been edged on the hood opening, the coat front, and the lower hem with light green wool. On the coat front, at the mid torso, two stripes contain carefully appliquéd "scout" marks described by short horizontal wavy lines ended by "C" shaped dishes pointing to the right (see Figure 5.18). The "scout" marks are individually placed on a single coloured stripe: a blue wool appliquéd "scout" design on a

red stripe and a red wool appliquéd "scout" design on a yellow stripe. This design indicates that the owner and wearer of this coat performed duties as a scout, marking important missions, on at least two occasions (Clifford Crane Bear, personal communication, December, 1996). Interestingly, the order of the coloured bands on this coat are red, yellow, blue, and red. References to this colour combination was found in Hanson (1988, p. 9), who cited an "Assiniboine Indian" blanket coat dated at 1885, located at the McCord Museum, Montreal, with stripes of the same colours in the same sequence. (However, through a search on CHIN, no record of this coat was found at the McCord Museum.) Another reference by Hanson (1976, p. 7) indicated that by 1832, the American Fur Trading Company was ordering striped blankets from the Hudson's Bay Company with four stripes with two of them red, and at least one blue between them. From this information, the blanket coat AF 3629 (GAI) becomes a very interesting example of some of the earliest blanket types and coats available through the American Fur Company, and distributed through the upper Missouri posts Fort Union and Fort Benton until the 1870's (Brian Shovers, personal communication, June, 1997).

Another blanket coat at the Glenbow Museum, AF 5521, also has four stripes on the torso in the descending colours green, red, yellow, and black above the hem. From the accession records, this coat was originally owned by Plaited Hair, who, when he died in the 1940's, passed it on to his son Bob. When Bob Plaited Hair died in the 1960's, he passed it on to his son Sidney, who gave this coat to his sister Dora Plaited Hair. The coat was finally donated to the Glenbow in 1989 by Mr. Les Healy. This coat is similar to AF 3629 (GAI) in that it is made from a "Hudson's Bay Chief's" style of blanket discussed within the previous sections as being initiated by American trading companies

to resemble the Navajo "Phase I" Chief's blanket popular among First Nations trading circles in the early 1800's. Until 1837, when the first American woolen mills were established in New England, the early American multi-striped blankets were made by the Witney blanket makers, Oxfordshire, England. The blanket coat AF 5521 (GAI) has a Pendleton Woolen Mills label. Pendleton Woolen Mills was established in 1896 (Kapoun and Lohrmann, 1992, p. 39), therefore the coat AF 5521 (GAI) is not older than this date. Since the coat is mostly machine made, its date of construction could be within the first decades of the 1900's. More specific information about how and why this coat was made could probably be obtained from the members of the Plaited Hair and Healy families.

By comparing the placements of stripes on coats observed in the E. Brown collection (Figure 5.3), the H. Pollard collection (Figure 5.5), and the A. Lupson (Figure 5.9) photographic collections, a noticeable increase in the numbers of coats with multi-stripes on the torso and on the sleeves occurs after 1900. The coats from the Glenbow Museum and Provincial Museum collections, plotted in Figures 5.13 and 5.15, also have higher numbers of stripes on the torsos and sleeves. It would not be justifiable to conclude that multi-striped coats can be safely dated later than 1900 since it has been pointed out earlier in the discussion of the E. Brown collection that multi-striped coats were a style that seems to have existed before 1900. However, after 1900 multi-striped blanket coats become more frequently veiwed in the archival photographs.

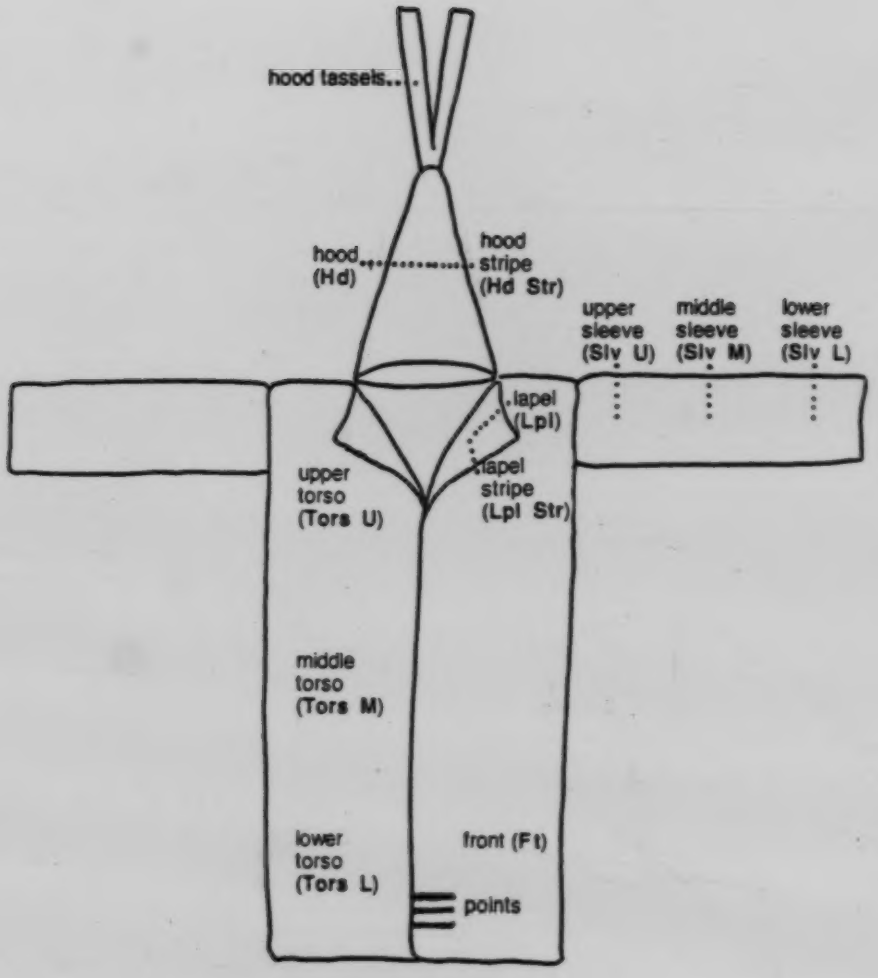

Figure 5.1

Schematic drawing of a blanket coat with the locations and abbreviations of the structural features studied. Drawing by A. Smith Bagan.

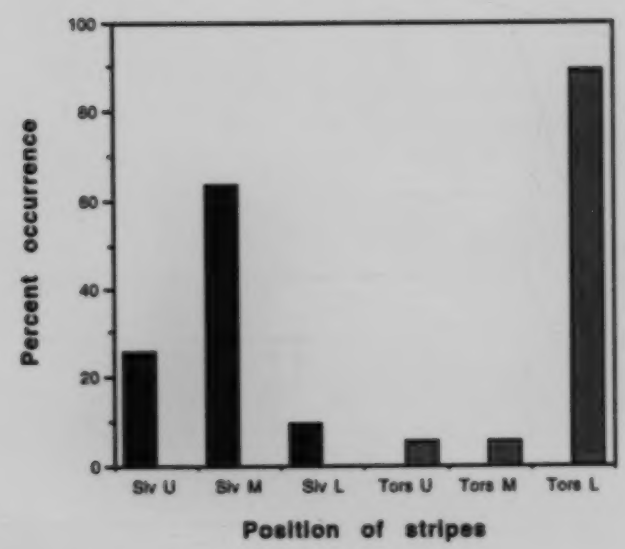

Figure 5.2

Percentage of stripes in various positions on the sleeves and torso of blanket coats shown in photographs from the E. Brown collection (circa 1881-1900), Provincial Archives of Alberta. Abbreviations: Slv, sleeve (solid bars); U, M, L upper, middle, lower. Tors U, M, L upper, middle or lower torso (gray bars). The percentages shown are as follows: Slv U, Slv M, Slv L, percentage of stripes in the three positions on the sleeve; Tors U, Tors M, Tors L percentage of stripes in the three positions on the torso.

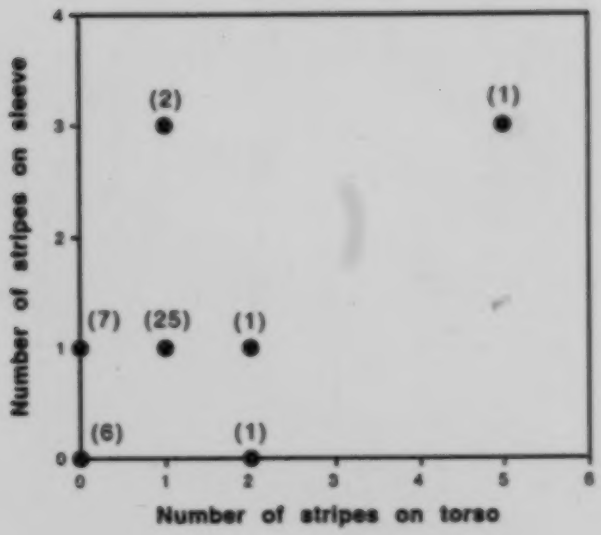

Figure 5.3

Placement of stripes on the torso and sleeve of individual blanket coats in the E. Brown collection (circa 1881-1900), Provincial Archives of Alberta. In this and the following similar plots (Figs. 5.5, 5.7, 5.9, 5.13, and 5.15) each point may represent a number of individual coats, for instance, in this plot 25 coats had one stripe on the torso and one on the sleeve. The number of coats is shown in parentheses over each point.

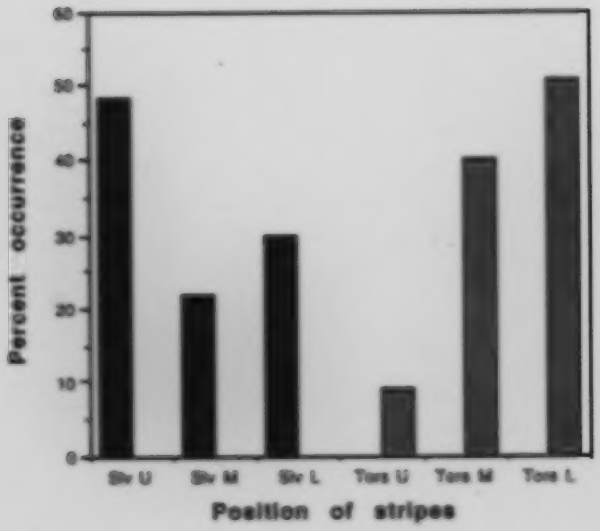

Figure 5.4

Percentage (see caption to Fig. 5.2) of stripes on the sleeves and torso of blanket coats shown in photographs of the H. Pollard collection (circa 1900-1916), Provincial Archives of Alberta. Abbreviations as in Fig. 5.2.

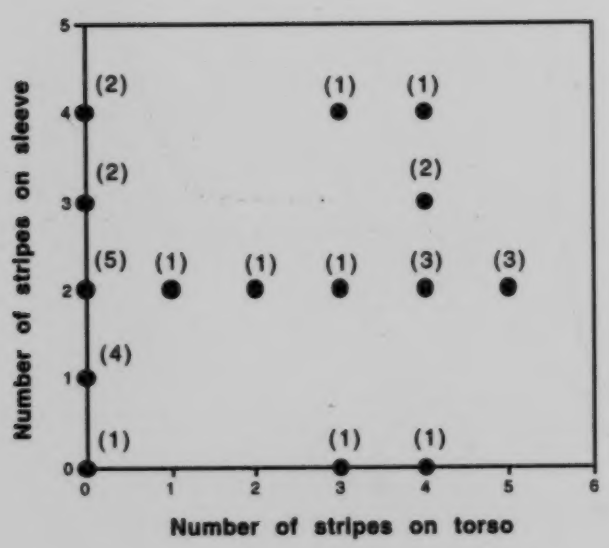

Figure 5.5

Placement of stripes on the torso and sleeve of individual blanket coats in the H. Pollard collection (circa 1900-1916), Provincial Archives of Alberta. The number of coats is shown in parentheses over each point.

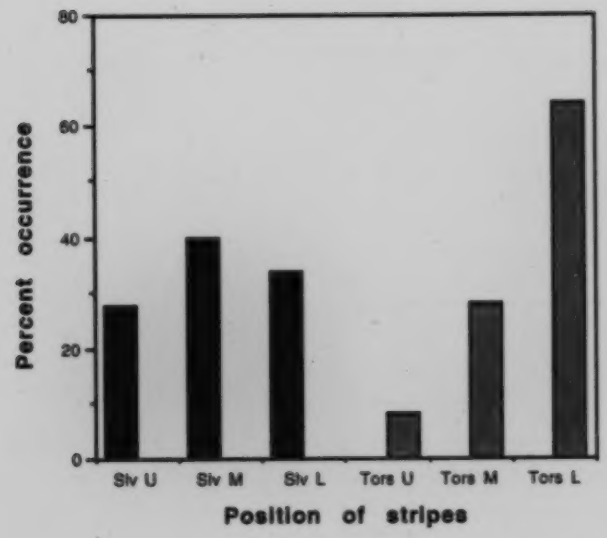

Figure 5.6

Percentage (see caption to Fig. 5.2) of stripes on the sleeves and torso of blanket coats shown in photographs of the Oblate collection (circa 1880-1920), Provincial Archives of Alberta. Abbreviations as in Fig. 5.2.

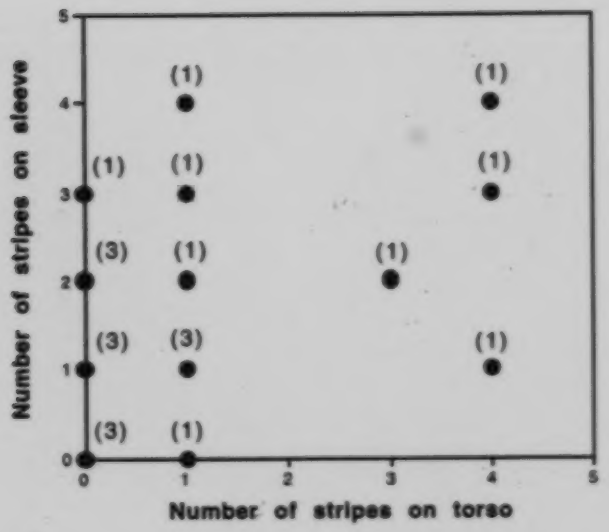

Figure 5.7

Placement of stripes on the torso and sleeve of individual blanket coats in the Oblate collection (circa 1880-1920), Provincial Archives of Alberta. The number of coats is shown in parentheses over each point.

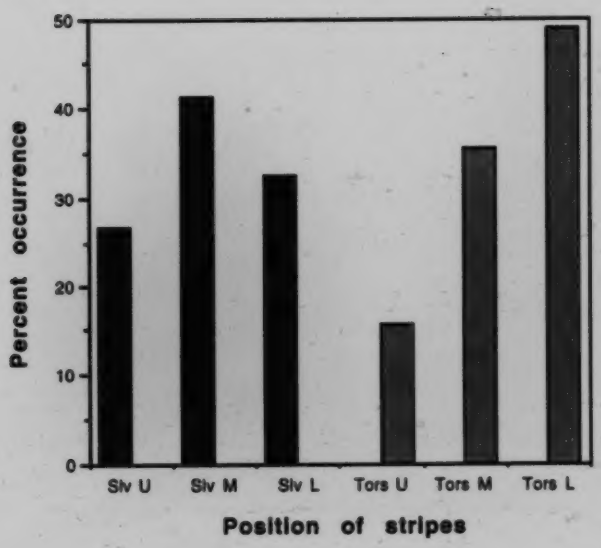

Figure 5.8

Percentage (see caption to Fig. 5.2) of stripes in various positions on the sleeves and torso of blanket coats shown in photographs from the A. Lupson collection (circa 1920-1940), Glenbow Archives. Abbreviations as in Fig. 5.2.

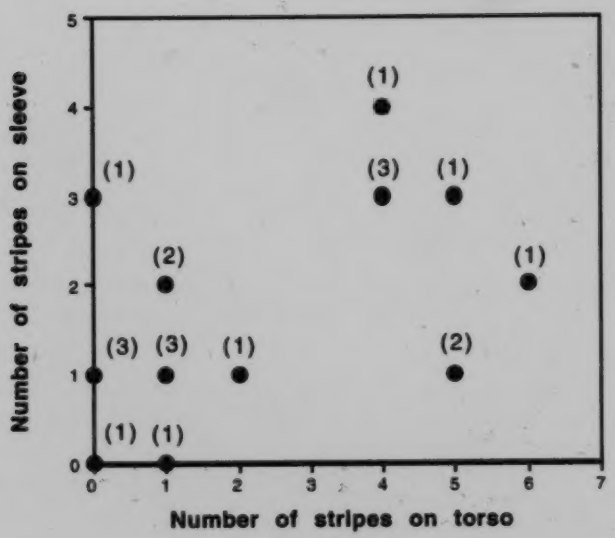

Figure 5.9

Placement of stripes on the torso and sleeve of individual blanket coats in the A. Lupson collection (circa 1920-1940), Glenbow Archives. The number of coats is shown in parentheses over each point.

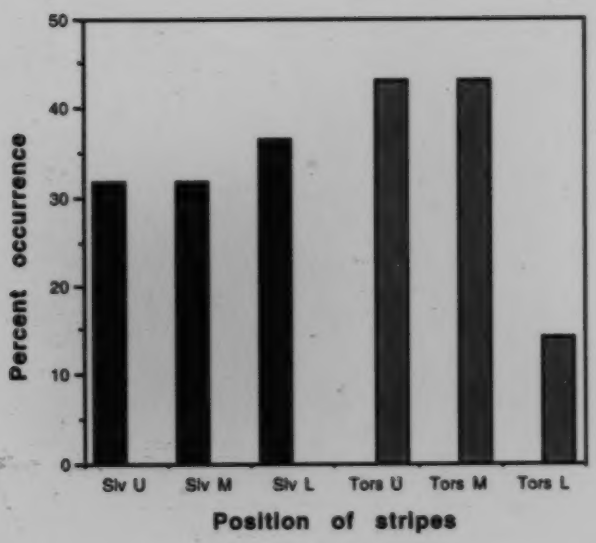

Figure. 5.10

Percentage (see caption to Fig. 5.2) of stripes in various positions on the sleeves and torso of blanket coats shown in photographs from the T. J. Hileman collection (1927), Glenbow Archives. Abbreviations as in Fig. 5.2.

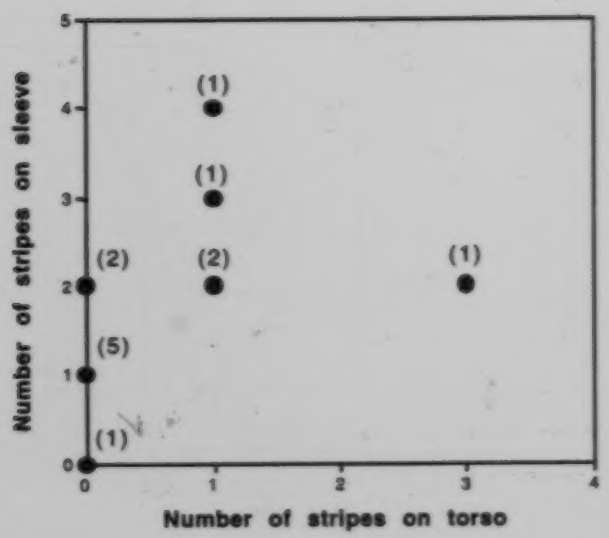

Figure 5.11

Placement of stripes on the torso and sleeve of individual blanket coats in the T. J. Hileman collection (1927), Glenbow Archives. The number of coats is shown in parentheses over each point.

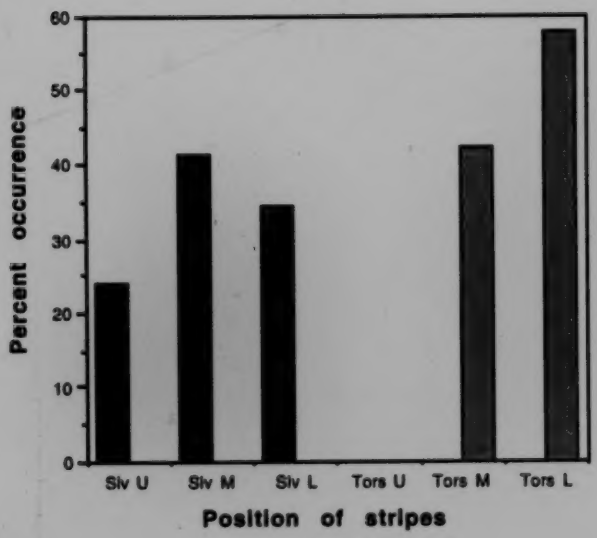

Figure 5.12

Percentage (see caption to Fig 5.2) of stripes in various positions on the sleeves and torso of blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta. Abbreviations as in Fig. 5.2.

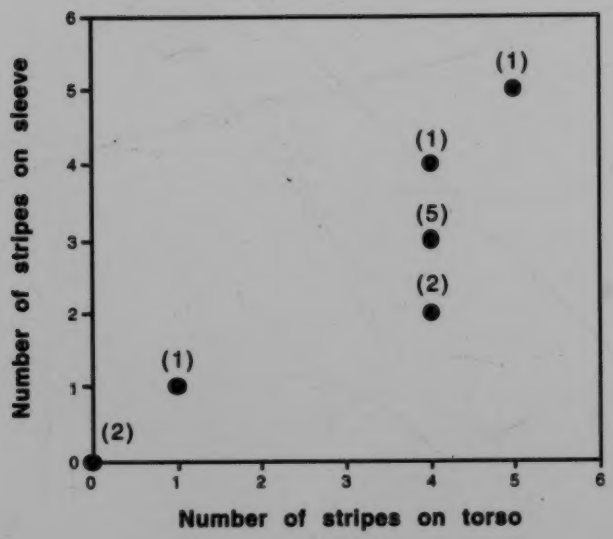

Figure 5.13

Placement of stripes on the torso and sleeve of individual blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta. The number of coats is shown in parentheses over each point.

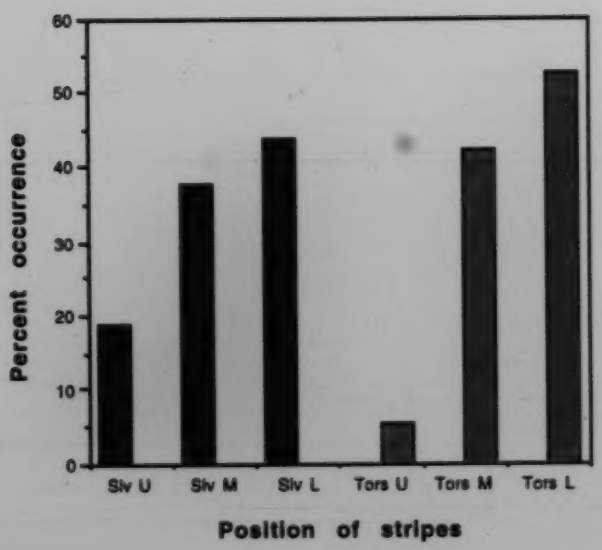

Figure. 5.14

Percentage (see caption of Fig. 5.2) of stripes in various positions on the sleeves and torso of blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Glenbow Museum. Abbreviations as in Fig. 5.2.

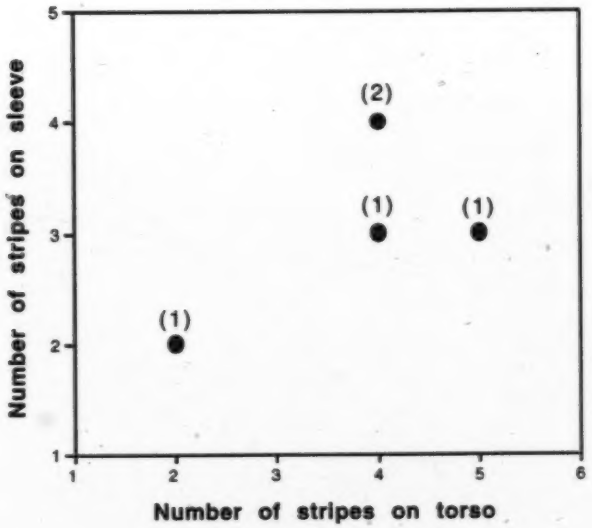

Figure 5.15

Placement of stripes on the torso and sleeve of individual blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Glenbow Museum. The number of coats is shown in parentheses over each point.

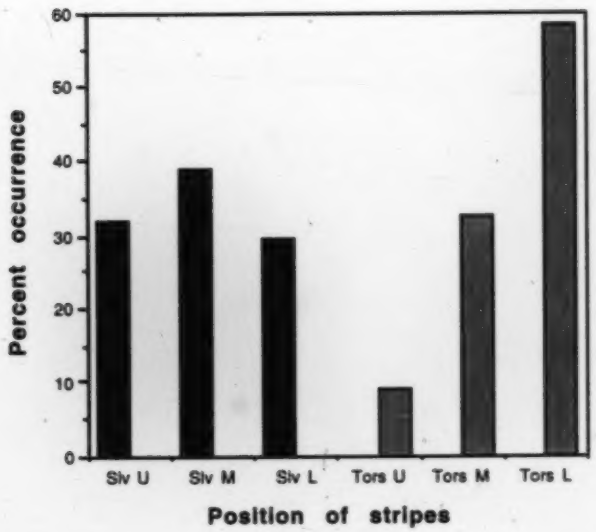

Figure 5.16

Percentage (see caption to Fig. 5.2) of stripes in various positions on the sleeves and torso of the 143 blanket coats represented in Figures 5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 5.8, 5.10, 5.12 and 5.14. Abbreviations as in Fig. 5.2.

Collection / Dates	#coats	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassel		Lpl	Points	
			U	M	L	U	M	L	Str	#	Str	Str	Ft	Lpl
Brown, 1881-1900	43	5	11	26	4	2	2	33	2	0	0	4	22	0
Pollard, 1900-1916	29	0	29	13	18	5	22	28	11	0	0	10	0	0
Oblate, 1880-1920	21	3	9	13	11	2	7	16	2	0	0	5	3	0
Lupson, 1926-1947	20	1	9	14	11	7	16	22	5	2	2	2	0	3
Hileman, 1927	13	1	7	7	8	4	4	4	3	0	0	1	0	0
Provincial Museum Ab.	12	1	7	12	10	0	16	22	26	18	12	0	3.5	6.5
Glenbow Museum	5	0	3	6	7	1	8	10	15	11	6	0	0	3.5
Totals	143	11	75	91	69	21	75	133	64	31	20	22	28.5	13
Percentages		7.7	31.9	38.7	29.4	9.2	32.7	58.1						

Table 5.1

Positions and numbers of stripes and points on the 143 blanket coats in the museum collections studied. The abbreviations are: 0, no stripes at all; U, upper; M, middle; L, lower; Hd, hood; Lpl, lapel; Str, stripes; Ft, front. The percentage of zero stripes was calculated as the number of occurrences of zero stripes divided by the number of coats multiplied by 100. The percentages of stripes at each position on the **sleeve** (Slv) is the number of stripes in any of the three positions (U, M, L) divided by the total number of stripes on the sleeve, multiplied by 100. Similarly, the percentage of **torso** (Tors) stripes is the number of stripes at the three positions (U, M, L) divided by the total number of stripes on the torso, multiplied by 100. The total numbers of stripes on the **hood** (Hd), **hood tassels**, and **lapel** (Lpl) indicate frequency of occurrence. The total numbers of points on the coat **fronts** (Ft), and on the **lapel** (Lpl) indicate frequency of occurrence.

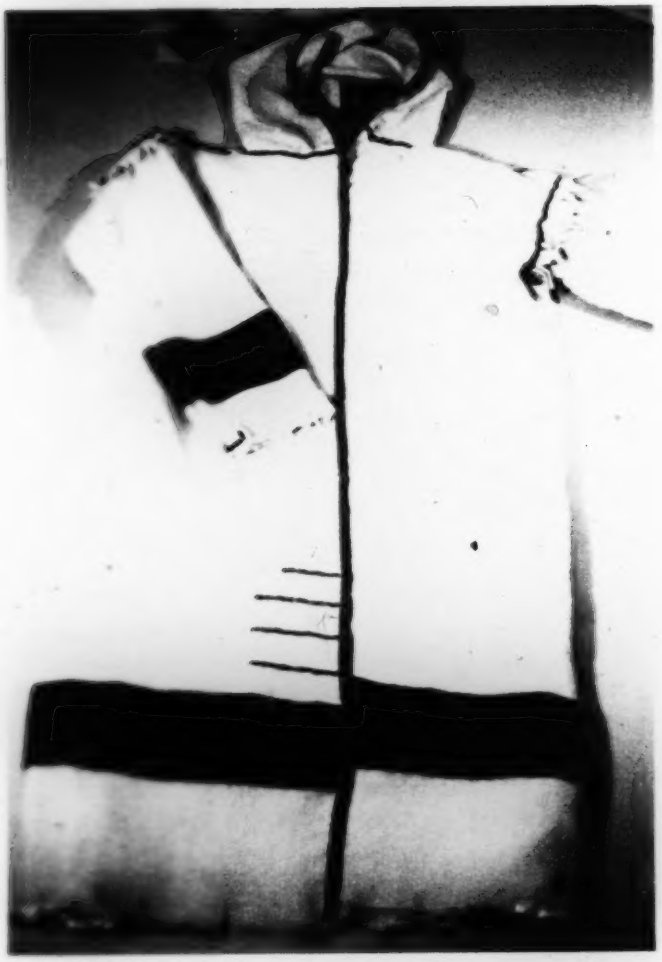

Figure 5.17

Blanket coat (Wolf Chief's coat), H66.147.1,
Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta
showing indigo stripes on lower torso and lower sleeves.
Photograph by A. Smith Bagan.

Figure 5.18

Blanket coat, AF 3629, Ethnology collection, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, showing scout designs on the middle torso stripes. Photograph by A. Smith Bagan.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

"When you try to be a bridge between two cultures, you should expect to get walked over by some people from both sides."
(Anonymous, cited in Ross, 1992, p. xx)

The questions

Similarities between the blanket coats in the historic photographs, the coats in the literature, and the coats in the museum collections were revealed after historical and attribute analysis. Insights and some answers to questions about why blanket coats were significant clothing for Blackfoot First Nations men and boys began to emerge. The questions presented at the outset were:

- Were there preferences by the coat makers and /or by the wearers for the construction of the hood, lapel, seam edging, and the placement of the blanket stripes, points, and decoration?
- Can stylistic preferences in the structural features of the coats be measured in an attribute analysis?
- Were the historic blanket coats worn mainly by men and boys among the Blackfoot First Nations?
- Why were blanket coats significant for males?
- Can stylistic preferences of the coats be better understood through current and historic Blackfoot First Nations cultural expressions; for example, in stories, artwork, poetry, drama, and songs?

Preferences by the coat makers for the construction of the hood, lapel, and seam edges could not be determined by the sources or methods used in this study. The numbers of these features that were visible in the photographs were too small to be able to determine with any amount of accuracy. However,

some general remarks may be made about the construction of the hood, lapel and seam edges. From examining the blanket coats within the PMA and GAI collections, constructions of hoods did not seem to be based on a clearly established pattern, but rather, seemed to be based on the nature of the size of the blanket used and how much fabric was left to construct the hood. For example the hood for the coat AF 5521 (GAI) was constructed from seven pieces; some of the hoods examined were constructed from three, four or one piece. Probably much depended on the skill of the seamstress. Observations about the shapes of the lapels from what could be seen in the archival photographs and from the existing coats, indicated that wider, shaped lapels were more commonly seen on more recent blanket coats. Perhaps further research would provide some assurance for this observation.

Seam edgings and no seam edgings are viewed on blanket coats in archival photographs and in coat collections. From these observations there does not seem to be a preference by the coat maker or by the wearer for the use of seam edgings. There are many First Nations seamstresses, tailors and designers currently using blanket coat patterns that closely resemble those worn in the late 1800's and early 1900's. This aspect of available information warrants further research.

Regarding the question, were there preferences by the wearers for the placement of the stripes, points, and decoration, the frequency counts of blanket coats observed in historic photographs indicate that indeed there were preferences for white, single-striped blanket coats, with the stripes placed, before 1900, at the elbow and above the hemline of the coat torso. After 1900,

the information collected and analyzed from the all of the sources agrees multi-striped, multi-coloured blanket coats began to be preferred by Blackfoot First Nations males. Preferred placement for decoration was examined on the existing Blackfoot First Nations coats at the GAI and at the PMA: shoulder seams and the sleeve caps are preferred locations for beadwork and for hairlocks, however many anomalies are viewed within the individual coats and within the photographs that indicate that personal choice determines the type and location of added decorations to blanket coats. Answers to questions about why blanket coats are significant for Blackfoot First Nations men and boys, and why blanket coats seem to be worn mainly by males in the historic photographs, have been suggested within a discussion of cultural and historical contexts .

The cultural and historical contexts of Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats

According to the information observed in the photographs, blanket coats seem to have had a specific function in identifying societal memberships, reinforcing the age-graded societies that were key cultural institutions for determining male identity among the Blackfoot First Nations communities. For example, the boys in Figure 6.1 are standing against a stockade fence at North Camp, Siksika Nation, at the Mission house of Reverend Tims, and photographed by W. H. Boorne in 1887. In this photograph, the three older boys are all wearing white blanket coats with a single stripe along the bottom edge of the coat and at the elbows. The seams joining the shoulder to the sleeves, called the armhole, are edged with cloth fringes. Two of the boy's sleeve cuffs are also fringed. One of the coats shows three point marks above

the lower stripe. When this photograph was shown to Reg Crowshoe, he commented that these boys were members of a boys society, indicated by their clothing, and by the bows and arrows that they are carrying (R. Crowshoe, personal communication, June 25, 1997). Mr. Crowshoe explained that the white colour of the blanket coats was preferred because it was similar to the white sun bleached skins of the deer and antelope usually used to make boys and men's society clothing. Similarly, the significance of the blue or black bands on the blanket coats does relate to the black stripes brought to ceremonial clothing by Scarface within the story of the gift of the war shirt by the Sun to Scarface (R. Crowshoe, personal communication, June 25, 1997).

By the 1880's, the range of dates of many of the photographs observed in the E. Brown and the Oblate collections (see Table 5.1), the importance of the blanket coat had begun to shift in significance from an item of clothing representing prestige and wealth in terms of the fur trade and the gift exchange ceremony, to an item of clothing that had vital social significance for the members within the Blackfoot First Nations communities. In Figure 4.1, a trading group of Peigan men are seen outside Rocky Mountain House in 1871. Two men are wearing striped blanket coats, four others are wrapped in striped blankets, and three are wearing dark coats with double rows of large, shiny buttons and boot cuffs on the sleeves. This photograph is important for its information on what types of men's clothing was worn at Rocky Mountain House in 1871. Whether or not the clothing seen in the photograph was purchased from Rocky Mountain House, or possibly from American trading posts can not be known. However, Hudson's Bay Company archival inventories for 1866 (Series I: IMI 123; B184 / a / 5) indicate that capotes were commonly purchased at Rocky Mountain House. The blanket coats seen in

Figure 4.1 could be some of the blanket coat types on which patterns for later Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats would have been based. No original patterns for blanket coats from any cultural group exist from the late 1800's (Judith Beattie, personal communication, April 14, 1997; Katherine Pettipas, personal communication, April 14, 1997). It is likely that "patterns," as two-dimensional models for three-dimensional clothing, were not used by the Blackfoot First Nations seamstresses during this time (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). The availability of blanket styles through the American, Canadian and British supply posts, limited the choices of the Blackfoot First Nations women. The ways in which a striped blanket can be manipulated to ensure enough fabric for all the necessary components (main body, sleeves, hood, tassels, fringes) to make a coat, certainly helped to predetermine preferences for the placements of the stripes (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). It may be that while the women made aesthetic and structural choices about constructing the coats, men interpreted the coat forms in ways important for maintaining fundamental communal roles and individual status. It must be stressed that within First communities, there are many individual interpretations about the significances of blanket coats depending on the age, gender, cultural group, tribe, or society membership of a person. During the Glenbow First Nations Advisory Council meeting, at which this study was discussed, the members presented several comments. Harold Healy (Kainah Nation) informed us that, "capotes are traditional items, worn at traditional or formal occasions...sometimes capotes are given as gifts" (GFNAC meeting minutes, December 13, 1996). Jeanette Starlight (T'suu Tinna Nation) added that, "blankets are trade items and that many have been worn at winter ceremonies. The significance depended on who wore it and who traded it" (GFNAC meeting minutes, December 13, 1996).

The Blackfoot First Nations people were never dependent on the trading companies for food or clothing. When the herds of buffalo were hunted out of existence from the northern prairies from about 1876, the women turned to printed cloth, to blankets, and to cow hides for clothing materials (Treaty Seven Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 75). By 1860, the fur trade in the British territories was replaced by a surge in trade across the prairies for buffalo robes and bones largely in order to support the American Industrial Revolution (Ray, 1974; Kennedy, 1993). From the early 1800's the Blackfoot First Nations people had access to a great diversity of trade goods through the increasingly mobile American supply system.

Following negotiations with England for Canadian Confederation from 1864 to 1867, the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1870, transferred the trading land base known as Rupert's Land to the Dominion Government of Canada (Newman, 1987; Williams, 1987). On the prairies, the years from 1865 to 1875 were ones of outright exploitation, excess, and violence among independent traders, trappers, and the Blackfoot First Nations people. This time is known as the Whiskey Trade era where the tail-ends of the trading ceremonies and the intercultural relationships based on economic exchange and mutual benefit began to spin out of control generating lawlessness and much unnecessary tragedy. Preceded by an intelligence mission in 1870-1871 to investigate social unrest and disorder along the international boundary between Canada and the United States, the North-West Mounted Police arrived at the Oldman River in 1874 (Butler, 1878/1968). With the permission of the Siksika, Pikuni, and Kainah chiefs, they stayed and erected Fort MacLeod, ending trading in liquor and enforcing social order particularly among the traders (Denny, 1972; Treaty Seven Elders and Tribal Council, 1996).

During the 1870's, the colonizing process had began in earnest across Canada, with the Blackfoot First Nations surrendering their land ownership rights to the government of Canada in 1877. The intents of Treaty 7, however, were understood differently by the Blackfoot First Nations members than the understandings of the Canadian government and its representatives (Treaty Seven Elders and Tribal Council, 1996). For the Blackfoot First Nations people, Treaty Seven was made between friends as allies in government and peace, and was based on acts of trust and friendship initiated by the North-West Mounted Police between 1874 and 1877. For the Canadian diplomats, the intent of the treaty was one of peace to be sure, but the treaty also implicated the intent of land surrender necessary for the larger, and somewhat urgent motives of nation-building, and by association, assimilation of the Blackfoot First Nations people (Treaty Seven Elders and Tribal Council, 1996).

Assimilation began to be enforced with the formation of the Indian Act in 1876 (Miller, 1989). Confronted with active resistance to assimilation, the response of the Canadian government was one of aggressive legislation that shifted original intents for protection and support to outright legislative compulsion and coercion enforced on the reserves by the Indian agents and by the residential school system (Miller, 1989). In 1884-85, the Indian Act was amended by a law that prohibited cultural gatherings for the purposes of religious celebrations and ceremonies (Miller, 1989). There were many other legislative restrictions made during the 1880's, 1890's, and early 1900's covering all aspects of life, including community and family structure, tribal government, personal and community property, and ultimately, personal identity. All of the legislation was made with the intent to force apart and destroy strong communal values and social structures among First Nations

peoples (Miller, 1989, 1991; Pettipas, 1994). This era coincided with drives for artifact collecting and "ethnographic" documentation and photography by Canadian, American, and European social scientists.

However, as Miller (1989) notes, "It was one thing to legislate; another to enforce" (p. 193). Gatherings and ceremonies, that were central to the fundamental core of the identities of First Nations people were unstoppable, even though they were made illegal and kinship systems and families were fragmented (Miller, 1989, 1991; Pettipas, 1994).

The semiotic significances of blanket coats for people within the Blackfoot First Nations have been different from the perceptions of blanket coats by the majority society which has understood the blanket coat in terms of the Hudson's Bay Company and the fur trade. By the mid-1880's, the blanket coat among the Blackfoot First Nations members began to be used as a ceremonial and identity-laden garment, which carried communally owned knowledge, and communicated ancient ideas integral to social order, cosmology, and personal identity. The photograph in Figure 6.2 shows an aspect of the Okan ceremony where a single striped blanket coat is worn by a person in a key ceremonial position. The photograph was taken in about 1887 by W. H. Boorne who was present at the ceremony under the express invitation, and protection, of Red Crow, on the Kainah Nation (Silversides, 1994, pp. 7-8). In Figure 6.3, in a photograph taken by H. Pollard in about 1913, multi-striped blanket coats are worn by senior male society members. These photographs provide further information about the functions of blanket coats in ceremonies that were only performed during the Okan. Blanket coats were not conducive clothing for hot weather use because they were made from heavy wool, yet they are viewed within the photographs as important garments.

These photographs also provide important information about what was worn with the blanket coats. In Figure 6.3 two blanket coats with three stripes on the sleeves and four on the torso are worn with religious society masks, hairstyles, and staffs. In this photograph Red Leggings is wearing blanket leggings embellished with weasel pelts, a blanket coat with hairlocks at its sleeve caps, and he is carrying a rifle and horse medicine effigies and banner. These kinds of objects are similar to those accessioned with two blanket coats at the Provincial Museum of Alberta: H66.147.1 (Figure 5.17) and H67.51.3 (Figure 6.4).

Conclusions

A general conclusion may be made that Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats carried messages of passive resistance to colonial assimilation, and through this function, sustained social roles of men and boys during the late 1800's and early 1900's. This function of blanket coats assisted in adapting personal and societal identities. Pettipas (1994) comments on adapted social and cultural roles of men among Plains Cree societies during the late 1800's and early 1900's,

> Some of the traditional roles of members of the Warrior societies were assumed by the Canadian police force and the military. The continuity of their functions was perhaps most evident at the larger inter-reserve gatherings. The methods of attaining access to positions in Warrior societies were undoubtedly altered because raids against other villages, and the taking of lives, property, and horses during these forays, were now criminal acts according to the Canadian justice system. Some

> historians [L. J. Dempsey, 1987, 1988] have suggested that the voluntary involvement in Canadian war efforts on the part of young men was linked to the opportunity to demonstrate one's worthiness and to achieve a status similar to that enjoyed by Warriors. Participation in rodeos and the development of competitive pow-wows have similarly provided opportunities to earn public recognition through the demonstration of traditionally-valued skills. (p. 73)

Another conclusion that may be made is that structural symbolism within Blackfoot First Nation blanket coats seems to be supported by the Scarface cosmology. Although the oral legend has tribal and clan variations, the consistent features of the story are that Scarface was given the ceremonial war shirt by the Sun on the occasion of his killing the deadly Cranes who were a threat to the survival of humans. To mark this victory, the tops of the cranes' heads are designated by hair, human or horse, and usually sewn to the arms of the skin shirt (C. F. Taylor, 1986). On the blanket coats, this feature occurs on the front and/or back of the coat or on the shoulder seams. Existing blanket coats in the collections of the Provincial Museum of Alberta (H 67.51.3 and H 89.220.171) display this symbolism (see Figures 6.4 and 6.5; see also Stepney and Goa, 1990, p. 93, Red Leggings; A. Lupson NA-667-25, Red Leggings). Many of these coats have decorative beadwork added to the shoulder seams and hairlocks added to the sleeve caps that indicate personal status and achievement.

Ceremonial society blanket coats are garments which are considered to be communally owned (R. Crowshoe, personal communication, June 25, 1997). The outfits are usually worn together with blanket leggings which are

also striped. Many sacred songs, contained within Society bundles, relate to these ensembles, the importance of which may or may not be related within the numbers of stripes displayed on a blanket coat (R. Crowshoe, personal communication, June 25, 1997; Glenbow Archives, D.C. Duvall Papers, 1911, M 4376, pp. 408-411).

From the D. C. Duvall Papers (Glenbow Archives, 1911, p. 408), translator D. C. Duvall informs us that the weasel-tail suit, while also having its origins in the Scarface story, are unlike the hairlock shirt in that they are transferred by two to seven songs, which is the number of stripes that is commonly observed on the blanket coats within the photographic collections, within the ethnographic collections, and which are indicated in the attribute analysis in this study. The most important support, however, for the evidence of blanket coats as meaningful and ceremonial outfits exists in the types of religious items: a medicine shield, society staffs, pipebag, and "sacramental stone" which were accessioned with the blanket coats H66.147.1, H67.51.3, H72.73.1 at the Provincial Museum of Alberta.

An objective of this study was to integrate the different sources of information so that relationships between the sources could be acknowledged. In considering a wide variety of sources of information, ideas and understandings about the ways in which blanket coats were important to Blackfoot First Nations males in the past have been generated.

A summary of the frequencies of blanket coat attributes examined in the collections studied has been made in Table 5.1, from which several conclusions can be made. From the total of 143 coats examined, 133 of them, or 93 % of the total, had stripes within the lower torso region; 91 coats, or 64 %, had stripes at the middle sleeve area. These two key areas of the blanket coat,

the lower body torso and the middle sleeve, show consistent tendencies in placement of stripes. The question may be asked, is this style preference one made by the seamstresses in accommodating the fabric colours and structure, or, is it a style directed by the wearer? The answer to this question perhaps lies along a scale of interpreting the data. The blanket coat with stripes located at the elbow and along the hemline was, as was learned in the literature review, a form that had been established by the fur trade. This form was preferred by the wearers, because the coats already had by the 1870's, significant meanings for status and wealth attached to them through the fur trading protocols and gift exchange ceremonies with American and British trading companies. The importance of blanket coats as garments worn by trading chiefs and by men who were materially successful, became internalized within the Blackfoot First Nations cultures after fur trade activity was over by the mid-1870's. Although numerous individual and situational interpretations of blanket coats may exist today, historically, many social, cultural, and historical factors combined to give the blanket coat special importance for carrying significant cultural codes during the late 1800's and early 1900's. These key cultural codes indicating, for example, societal membership, honour, respect, success, knowledge, balance and order, were previously contained within painted, beaded and quilled ceremonial garments constructed from tanned animal hides, usually deer and antelope.

The decimation of the buffalo herds as a source of physical and spiritual sustenance, the signing of Treaty Seven, the confinement to small land bases called reserves, the loss of animal populations from which to obtain food and materials for clothing, the change to a capitalist economy based on the use of money, starvation, poverty, disease, and exploitation by government agents

and religious officials are factors that combined to drive survival for the expression of core values of community and identity to alternative forms within the language of appearance and clothing. From the information collected within this study, one such form was certainly the blanket coat.

Further conclusions can be made from the analysis summary in Table 5.1. about the occurrence of multi-stripes on the torso, sleeves, hood, and lapel. In the H. Pollard collection of photographs dating between 1900 and 1916, higher numbers of stripes were counted on the torso, sleeve, hood and lapel, than in earlier or later collections. This information indicates a greater frequency of multi-striped coats during the early 1900's. Observations about the greater occurrence of multi-striped blanket coats after 1900 in archival photographs are supported by the historical fact that blankets with a single blue band at the edges became scarce during the early 1900's. For reasons that could not be determined, these blankets were not sold by the Hudson's Bay Company after 1930 (Hanson, 1976).

Historical information provides further reinforcement for the attribute distributions by indicating that there were more multi-striped blanket coats made and worn by Blackfoot First Nations living in the United States during the late 1800's and early 1900's. The most likely reason for this regional preference is based on information from the literature on blanket styles made and worn by Navajo and other First Nations people, such as the Nez Perce Nations and the Crow Nations, with whom the Blackfoot First Nations people traded during the late 1800's and early 1900's. As Pettipas (1996) has noted much cultural exchange, including special garment patterns, took place at social gatherings such as pow-wows, fairs, and rodeos.

Based on general observations of the blanket coats in the photographic collections, stripes occurring on coat lapels appear infrequently, but most noticeably in the A. Lupson collection (Figure 5.9). While no definite conclusions of this feature can be made from the analysis, perhaps this information indicates a blanket coat style imported from other peoples. Individual coat styles observed in photographs by C. Horetsky (NAC C7376), W. Hook (NA-98-24), A. Lupson (NB-21-19), Kapoun and Lohrmann (1992, p.29), and T. Magee (Scriver, 1990, p. 158) indicated that coats with stripes across the lapel and upper chest occurred in blanket coats among Montana Blackfoot First Nations, the Nez Perce Nations, and the Crow Nations. No examples of stripes on lapels were examined on the coats at the Provincial Museum of Alberta or at the Glenbow Museum. This information could indicate a need for such coats to be represented within museum collections and a need for further research.

Points on blankets and on coats were important features during the fur trade era up to 1870. However, the occurrence of this feature was difficult to examine within the photographic record because the location of the points at the lower edges of the coats was obscured in many photographs. Conclusions about the stylistic significance of points, and about the location on the coats of the points, can be only marginally made. There is a higher number of blanket coats with points on the lower coat fronts occurring in the E. Brown collection, from 1881 to 1900, and on the coats at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. There are also more blanket coats at the Provincial Museum of Alberta than at the Glenbow Museum with points found on the lapels than on the lower coat fronts. The placement of points on coat lapels may indicate a more recent style among Blackfoot First Nations blanket coats, one which may have to do with

construction preferences. Whether this feature was initiated by preferences from within the Blackfoot First Nations cultures, or was borrowed from other people, is not certain.

The blanket coat, as an adaptable and important historical garment, continues to evolve with stylistic changes. Historically, dramatic changes in lifestyle for the Blackfoot First Nations people during the late 1800's were accompanied by changes in the use of materials, objects, and clothing. At a time when Canadian federal legislation prohibited all outwardly visible displays of tribal identity, the blanket coat, a garment so common in Canadian history, was not perceived by the dominant Canadian society, during the late 1800's, as a culturally meaningful garment for the Blackfoot First Nations people.

This study has shown that blanket coats probably had more than aesthetic significance for Blackfoot First Nations people during the late 1800's and early 1900's. During this time, blanket coats seem to have been clothing worn for transmitting subtle and complex messages of resistance, integrity and renewal; they aided men, as well as women and children, in protecting some of their social roles and ancient cultural values. Through the processes involved in this study, I have learned that, ultimately, whether in the past or in the present, people need people, in all relationships. Taking care of people, objects, and history is hard work: stand tall, aim straight, be heard.

Recommendations for further research

Blanket coats continue to be worn by many people. Most blanket coats are worn because very good seamstresses take pride in having people wear their coats and because wool blankets continue to be choice coat material for winter warmth, for colourful designs, and for durability. Further research could involve many First Nations seamstresses, tailors, designers, and wearers to discover how patterns and construction methods for features like lapels, points, seam edges, cuff edges, and hoods have been carried through the generations in relating important information about women's roles, about men and children, and about many other stories not necessarily recorded in any other form of documentation.

Examination of other museum and archival collections of blanket coats worn by other cultural groups would be helpful in providing further understanding of the importance of blanket coats as a mechanism for social solidarity. According to the Canadian Heritage Information Network, not many blanket coats from other cultural groups exist in museums across Canada. However, Cree, Ojibwa and Metis Nations blanket coats are prevalent enough in museum collections, and also in contemporary use, to stimulate interesting comparisons. Smaller museums, whose inventories are not listed on CHIN, may be able to provide examples of blanket coats which would add to the information presented within this study.

Other archival photographs, for example the Frederick Steele collection (Saskatchewan Provincial Archives) could be examined for further information about use of blanket coats by the Blackfoot First Nations, particularly for more information about lapel and sleeve cuff styles. How important blanket coats

were to Blackfoot First Nations people in the winter months is a question which may be informed by further study of archival photographs, and by other sources such as ledger drawings, and oral histories.

Further research about the blanket types sold by the Hudson's Bay Company and how these compare to blanket types made and distributed in the United States would make an important contribution to knowledge about how historical, economic, political, and cultural factors interact to determine how, why, and what blankets were preferred by those who marketed them and by those who bought them.

There are many other historical clothing forms which would make excellent interdisciplinary studies. For example, the effects of residential school dress codes on the expression of cultural identities in clothing; the importance of cowboy clothing to First Nations male identity; the adaptation of beaded ties from bone and beaded chokers and which are worn with twentieth century ceremonial "tuxedos" or skin suits; the influence of "Treaty coats" on clothing history among First Nations communities; the diversities and commonalities of patterns and functions of clothing seen at powwows, and, perhaps, at religious gatherings would make important research.

Those people who have direct access to oral explanations about important aspects of their culture should attempt to investigate them. In doing so, many historical misunderstandings, naively held assumptions about other peoples histories, can be challenged and expressions of cultural, tribal, and individual strengths can be celebrated.

Figure 6.1

Unidentified boys at the Anglican Mission, North Camp, on the Siksika Nation Reserve, circa 1887. Photographer W. H. Boorne. Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown collection, B 34.

Figure 6.2

The O-kan ceremony, Kainah Nation Reserve, circa 1887. A single-striped, 3-point blanket coat is worn by the person standing to the left of the ceremonial tree. Photographer W. H. Boorne. Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown collection, B 999.

Figure 6.3

Kainah Old Braves Society, circa 1913. Left to right: Many Shot, White Buffalo, Hind Bull, Big Nose, Bridge Woman, Red Leggings. Photographer H. Pollard. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate collection, OB 390.

Figure 6.4

Blanket coat (Chief Calf's coat), H67.51.3, Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta, showing two rows of hairlocks across the upper torso. Photograph by A. Smith Bagan.

Figure 6.5

Blanket coat (B. Scriver's coat), H89.220.171, Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta, showing hairlocks on upper sleeves. Photograph by A. Smith Bagan.

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Table A1

Shows positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the E. Brown collection of photographs (circa 1881-1900), Provincial Archives of Alberta.

In this and Tables A2-A7 the abbreviations are: ASB#, Anne Smith Bagan number; 0, no stripes at all; U, upper; M, middle; L, lower; Hd, hood; Lpl, lapel; Str, stripes; Ft, front. Refer to Appendix B for accession numbers corresponding to ASB#.

8. APPENDICES

Appendix A — Tables of attribute frequency counts from the data collection sheets: Tables A1-A7.

TABLE A1

ASB#	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassle		Lpl	Points	
		U	M	L	U	M	L		#	Str		Ft	Lpl
1.1		1					1					3	
1.2		1					1						
1.3		1					1					3	
2.1			1				1						
3.1			1				1					3	
4.1		1					1					3	
4.2		1					1					3	
5.1	1												
5.2	1												
5.3			1										
5.4			1				1						
5.5	1												
5.6	1												
5.7			1										
5.8	1												
5.9			1				1						
5.10			1				1						
6.1			1				1						
6.2			1				1					3	
7.1			1				1						
8.1			1				1						
9.1													
10.1		1	1	1			1				1		
10.2				1			1						
11.1				1			1						
11.2		1	1		1		1				1		
12.1			1										
12.2			1										
12.3		1											
12.4		1											
12.5		1					1						
12.6			1				1						
13.1			1				1				1		
14.1			1				1						
14.2							1	1					
15.1			1				1	1					
16.1			1				1						
16.2			1				1						
16.3			1				1						
16.4			1										
17.1			1				1					4	
18.1		1	1	1	1	2	2				1		
19.1			1				1						
Totals	5	11	26	4	2	2	33	2	0	0	4	22	0

TABLE A2

ASB#	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassle		Lpl	Points	
		U	M	L	U	M	L		#	Str		Ft	Lpl
29.1		2						2					
30.1		2		1		2	2						
30.2		2	1	1		2	2						
31.1		2	1	1	1		2						
31.2		2	1	1				3					
32.1		2	1	1				2					
33.1			1										
34.1				2									
34.2				2		2	2						
35.1			1	1		2	2						
35.2						2	2						
36.1			1								1		
37.1				3									
37.2			1	1		2							
38.1		1	1				3						
39.1		1	1	1									
39.2			1	1							2		
39.3							3						
40.1		2						3					
41.1		2											
42.1		1						1			1		
43.1		1											
44.1		1	1		1						1		
45.1													
46.1			1	2		2	2				1		
47.1		2				2	2				1		
48.1		2			1	2	2				1		
49.1		2			1	2	2				1		
50.1		2			1	2	2				1		
Totals	0	29	13	18	5	22	28	11	0	0	10	0	0

Table A2

Shows positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the H. Pollard collection of photographs (circa 1900-1916), Provincial Archives of Alberta. Abbreviations as in Table A1.

TABLE A3

ASB#	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassle		Lpl	Points	
		U	M	L	U	M	L		#	Str		Ft	Lpl
20.1			1	1									
20.2			1										
20.3			1				1						
21.1		1	1	2		2	2						
21.2		2		2			1				1		
22.1		1		1							1		
22.2			1	2		2	2						
23.1			1		1	1	2				1		
24.1		1	1	1			1				1		
24.2		1	1			1							
25.1	1												
25.2			1										
25.3		2		1							1		
25.4			1				1					3	
25.5							1						
25.6			1				1						
26.1	1												
26.2	1												
27.1		1	1										
27.2			1	1		1	2	2					
28.1				1									
Totals	3	9	13	11	2	7	16	2	0	0	5	3	0

Table A3

The positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the Oblate collection of photographs (circa 1880-1920), Provincial Archives of Alberta. Abbreviations as in Table A1.

TABLE A4

ASB#	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassle		Lpl	Points	
		U	M	L	U	M	L		#	Str		Ft	Lpl
51			1										
52		1	1				1						
53		2		2		2	2						3
54		1	1	1									
55					1			2					
56				1									
57			1				2						
58			1	1	1						1		
59			1	1	2	2	2				1		
60				1			1						
61	1												
62		1											
63			1				1						
64			1				1						
65			1		1	2	2	1					
66.1		1	1	1	1	2	2						
66.2			1		1	2	2						
67		1	1	1		2	2	1	2	2			
68		1	1	1		2	2	1					
69		1	1	1		2	2						
Totals	1	9	14	11	7	16	22	5	2	2	2	0	3

Table A4

The positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the A. Lupson collection of photographs (circa 1920-1940), Glenbow Archives. Abbreviations as in Table A1.

TABLE A5

ASB#	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassle		Lpl	Points	
		U	M	L	U	M	L		#	Str		Ft	Lpl
70			1										
71		1	1	1	1								
72			1										
73		1	1	2		1							
74			1										
75			1										
76		1		1	1			1					
77		1		1	1								
78			1								1		
79		1		1				2					
80		1		1									
81	1												
82		1		1		2	1						
Totals	1	7	7	8	3	3	1	3	0	0	1	0	0

Table A5

Shows positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the T. J. Hileman collection of photographs (circa 1927), Glenbow Archives. Abbreviations as in Table A1.

TABLE A6

ASH#	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassle		Lpl	Points	
		U	M	L	U	M	L		#	Str		Pt	Lpl
83			5				5	5					
84				1			1		2	1		3.5	
85		2	1	1		2	2	3	2	2			1
86		1		1		2	2	4	2	2			
87	1												
88								1	2	1			
89			1	1		2	2	2	1				2
90			1	2		2	2	1					
91		1	1	1		2	2	2	2	2			3.5
92		1	1	1		2	2	1	2				
93		1	1	1		2	2	4	3	2			
94		1	1	1		2	2	3	2	2			
Totals	1	7	12	10	0	16	22	26	18	12	0	3.5	6.5

Table A6

Shows positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Provincial Museum of Alberta. Abbreviations as in Table A1.

TABLE A7

ASB#	0	Sleeve			Torso			Hd	Hd tassle		Lpl	Points	
		U	M	L	U	M	L		#	Str		Pt	Lpl
95		1	2	1		2	2	4	3	3			
96			1	2	1	2	2	3	2	1			
97		1	1	2		2	2	3	2				3.5
98			1	1			2	2	2				
99		1	1	1		2	2	3	2	2			
Totals	0	3	6	7	1	8	10	15	11	6	0	0	3.5

Table A7 Shows positions and numbers of stripes and points on blanket coats in the Ethnology collection, Glenbow Museum. Abbreviations as in Table A1.

Appendix B Accession numbers of archival photographs and museum collections.

ASB#	collection	accession number
Provincial Archives of Alberta		
1	E. Brown	B34
2	"	B816
3	"	B838
4	"	B843
5	"	B846
6	"	B847
7	"	B848
8	"	B910
9	"	B998
10	"	B972
11	"	B975
12	"	B992
13	"	B999
14	"	B1003
15	"	B1012
16	"	B1018
17	"	B1022
18	"	B1021
19	"	B1029
20	Oblates	OB177
21	"	OB390
22	"	OB392
23	"	OB393
24	"	OB394
25	"	OB8835
26	"	OB8872
27	"	OB8880
28	"	OB8897
29	H. Pollard	P18
30	"	P25
31	"	P65
32	"	P71
33	"	P88
34	"	P100
35	"	P105
36	"	P107
37	"	P108
38	"	P118
39	"	P119

ASB#	collection	accession number
40	H. Pollard	P136
41	"	P137
42	"	P153
43	"	P154
44	"	P171
46	"	P172
47	"	P176
48	"	P206
49	"	P207
50	"	P208

Glenbow Archives

51	A. Lupson	NA-667-13
52	"	NA-667-182
53	"	NA-667-262
54	"	NA-667-277
55	"	NA-668-278
56	"	NA-667-279
57	"	NA-667-280
58	"	NA-667-385
59	"	NA-667-989
60	"	NA-667-990
61	"	NA-667-991
62	"	NA-667-995
63	"	NA-667-1000
64	"	NA-667-1002
65	"	NA-667-1003
66	"	NA-667-1015
67	"	NA-667-1019
68	"	NA-667-1020
69	"	NA-667-1042
70	T. J. Hileman	NB-21-1
71	"	NB-21-3
72	"	NB-21-4
73	"	NB-21-5
74	"	NB-21-6
75	"	NB-21-7
76	"	NB-21-8
77	"	NB-21-9
78	"	NB21-10
79	"	NB-21-11
80	"	NB-21-14
81	"	NB-21-15
82	"	NB-21-19

ASB#	collection	accession number
Provincial Museum of Alberta		
83	Ethnology	H67.51.3
84	"	H66.147.1
85	"	H89.220.171
86	"	H70.137.1
87	"	H67.89.1
88	"	H68.179.1
89	"	H66.100.1
90	"	H67.299.2
91	"	H89.220.173
92	"	H89.220.172
93	"	H71.72.2
94	"	H72.73.1
Glenbow-Alberta Institute		
95	Ethnology	AF5521
96	"	AF3529
97	"	AF3609
98	"	AF2289
99	"	AF57

Appendix C — Personal communications: Interviews.

Judith Beattie	Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Gerry Conaty	Senior Ethnologist, Glenbow-Alberta Institute
Clifford Crane Bear	Treaty Seven Community Liason, Program Development and Exhibit Development at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. He was raised and taught by his grandparents on the Siksika Nation Reserve. He has worked extensively with the Ethnology collections, with teaching oral history and developing programs at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
Reg Crowshoe	Director of Operations, Oldman River Cultural Center, Brocket, Alberta. He has worked extensively in developing Peigan cultural renewal programs and lecturing. He was raised in the Ninamska tradition, and was a thunder medicine pipe bundle owner for many years. (Refer also to Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 343.)
Harold Healy	Member of the Kainah Nation; not a member, or bundle owner, of a medicine society; advisor to the RCMP on First Nations issues; First Nations court worker in Cardston, Alberta
Donna Many Grey Horses	Member of the Kainah Nation; museum intern at the Glenbow-Alberta Institute
Rita Marten	Member of the Cree (Fort Chipewyn) Nation; Band Councilor
Katherine Pettipas	Curator of Ethnology, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Irvine Scalplock	Member of the Siksika Nation; curator of the Siksika Nation Museum; owner of the plume headdress of the Siksika Horn Society
Brian Shovers	Reference historian, Montana Historical Society
Margaret Snow	Member of the Stoney Nation; curator of the Nakoda Museum
Joanna Walton	Clothing historian, Parks Canada